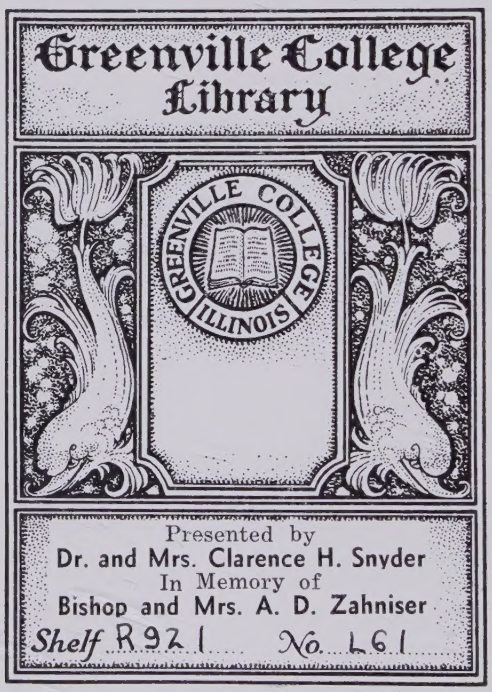
921 L61 v.11

Spofford, Ainsworth Rand,
1825-1908,

The library of historic
characters and famous



WITHDRAWN
University of
Illinois Library
at Urbana-Champaign

Digitized by the Internet Archive
in 2025

https://archive.org/details/bwb_C0-AYF-732_11

THE PRISONER.

THE LIBRARY
OF
Historic Characters
AND
Famous Events
OF ALL NATIONS AND
ALL AGES

WITH COMPLETE INDEX AND CHRONOLOGICAL TABLES

EDITED BY PROFESSOR J. P. LAMBERTON
AND OTHERS

ILLUSTRATED with Photogravures from Paintings by Great Artists and from Authentic Portraits

Volume XI

BOSTON
ART LIBRARY PUBLISHING COMPANY
1905

Copyright, 1900
By J. B. Millet

TABLE OF CONTENTS.

VOLUME XI.

	Page
William the Silent:	5
The Deliverance of Leyden. Assassination of William the Silent	13–19
Rudolf of Hapsburg: *The First of the Hapsburgs*	22–25
Charles I. of England: *Execution of Charles I.*	29–34
Sir Henry Vane	41
Charles II. of England: *The Great Fire of London*	47–54
James II. of England:	60
Monmouth's Rebellion. English Society under the Stuarts	63–68
Viscount Dundee: *Bonny Dundee. The Battle of Killiecrankie*	73–78
The Stuart Pretenders	83
James Edward, the Old Pretender:	83
The Old Pretender in Scotland	86
Charles Edward, the Young Pretender:	89
The Escape of Charles Edward Stuart. Lochiel's Warning	93–97
Francis of Assisi: *The Franciscan Order Established*	100–104
Paolo Sarpi: *The Prohibition of Books by the Church*	108–111
John Calvin	115
Akbar	122
Prince Eugène of Savoy	125
Marshal Bernadotte	129
Louis Kossuth: *Hungarian Revolution of 1848*	134–141
Voltaire: *Voltaire and Frederic the Great*	144–157
Jean Jacques Rousseau: *Rousseau's Correspondence with Frederic II.*	163–171
Edward Gibbon: *The Coliseum of Rome*	175–179
Sir John Moore:	183
The Battle of Corunna. The Burial of Sir John Moore	187–192
Sir Robert Peel: *Repeal of the Corn Laws*	194–199
Richard Cobden: *Free Trade and Its Apostle*	203–206
John Bright: *John Bright on the American Civil War*	212–215

13779

TABLE OF CONTENTS.

PAGE

LORD MACAULAY: *The University of Glasgow* 220–224

DANIEL O'CONNELL: *O'Connell's Entrance into Parliament* 229–233

CHARLES S. PARNELL 238

CHIEF JUSTICE MARSHALL: *The Supreme Court's Sure Foundation* . 243–245

ALBERT GALLATIN: *The Treaty of Ghent* 248–252

DANIEL BOONE 257

CAPTAIN JAMES LAWRENCE: 260

The Fight of the "Shannon" and the "Chesapeake" 262

STEPHEN DECATUR: *Recapture of the Frigate "Philadelphia"* . . . 267–271

COMMODORE O. H. PERRY: *The Battle of Lake Erie* 276–281

COMMODORE DAVID PORTER 290

SAM. HOUSTON: *The Battle of San Jacinto* 294–298

MARTIN VAN BUREN 305

WILLIAM H. HARRISON: *The Battle of Tippecanoe* 309–313

JOHN TYLER: *How Calhoun was made Secretary of State* 318–323

JAMES K. POLK 327

MILLARD FILLMORE 331

FRANKLIN PIERCE 335

THOMAS H. BENTON: *National Highway to the Pacific* 339–343

ROGER B. TANEY: *The Dred Scott Decision* 345–349

JAMES BUCHANAN: *Buchanan's Defence* 354–358

LEWIS CASS 361

COMMODORE M. C. PERRY: *The Opening of Japan* 365–367

ADMIRAL D. D. PORTER 374

HORACE GREELEY: *Jefferson Davis* 378–383

CONFUCIUS 389

IGNATIUS LOYOLA 396

WILLIAM THE SILENT.

FAMILIAR epithets bestowed on the great men of history are sometimes misleading as to their general character, though they may be appropriate to particular incidents or aspects. This is notably the case with William of Orange, surnamed the Silent, for his nature was singularly frank and open. A single instance of prudent reserve obtained for him the surname, and his eminent statesmanship in difficult circumstances confirmed it.

This noble prince was the eldest son of William of Nassau and his second wife, Juliana of Stolberg. He was born at the castle of Dillenburg, in Nassau, on the 16th of April, 1533. In childhood he was carefully trained by his pious and discreet mother, and later resided at the court of Brussels, where Mary, Queen of Hungary, ruled as regent of the Netherlands for her brother, the Emperor Charles V. In 1540, when the people of Holland resisted the imposition of heavy taxes, the emperor intervened, and forced on the rebellious burghers a foreigner as stadtholder. This was René of Chalons, Prince of Orange, a town in the south of France. But René fell in battle in 1544, leaving his territories to his younger cousin, William of Nassau, who was henceforth known as William of Orange. This prince, handsome and well trained in martial exercises, attracted the emperor's attention and favor. At the age of twenty-two he received command of the army

on the French frontier, and saw service in the field. When Charles V., in presence of a grand assembly at Brussels, transferred to his son Philip the sovereignty of the Netherlands, he leaned on William's shoulder. Again, when Charles abdicated the empire, the same trusted prince was chosen to carry the imperial insignia to Ferdinand, King of the Romans. William fought in Philip's war with France, and took part in the negotiations for the treaty of Cateau-Cambresis in 1559. He was also sent to France as one of the hostages for the execution of the treaty. While there, the bigoted, profligate and persecuting King Henry II. revealed to him a plot for the massacre of all Protestants in France and the Netherlands. The generous prince, though horrified at the project, prudently concealed his feelings. At a later time, when the incident was revealed, his discretion earned him the surname of "the Silent."

In 1559 Philip appointed Margaret of Parma, who was a natural daughter of Charles V., to be regent of the Netherlands; but the real direction of affairs was in the hands of the Bishop of Arras, now made Archbishop of Mechlin, and afterwards notorious as the Cardinal Granvella. The majority of the people had accepted the Reformation; but Philip, desiring to crush out heresy, established the Inquisition on the Spanish model, which forthwith began its bloody work. The most prominent nobles, Orange, Egmont and Horn, protested against these violent proceedings. In 1561 they appealed to Philip to remove Granvella, and meantime withdrew from the council. It was at this time that William was married to the Lutheran Princess, Anne of Saxony, daughter of the Elector Maurice. The religious persecution went on in total disregard of the rights and liberties of the cities until even the regent Margaret found Granvella's rule intolerable, and he withdrew to Burgundy. The hypocritical Philip wrote friendly letters to Orange and other nobles. Meantime the affairs of the country were abandoned to disorder and corruption. William of Orange sought to obtain the abolition of the edicts in regard to heresy, liberty to convoke the States General, and the suppression of the Council. But Philip of Spain had far different views. When the Council of Trent

promulgated its decrees, Philip determined to enforce them throughout his dominions. The Duchess, afraid of the result, sent Egmont as envoy to Spain, and Orange urged him to tell the king the whole truth about the condition of the Netherlands. But the king so cajoled and flattered Egmont that he neglected his mission. The king sent word that he was grieved at the increase of heresy, but would rather die a thousand deaths than permit a change of religion. The attack on all showing favor for the Reformers was renewed with vehemence, and the Inquisition was fully established. At the meeting of the State Council Orange openly disclaimed responsibility for the consequences, and whispered to his neighbor that the most extraordinary tragedy of the world was about to begin. In 1566 the Netherland nobles, led by Count Brederode, signed a "Compromise," which marks the beginning of the rebellion. Orange, Egmont and Horn held aloof from it. The other nobles, in plain dress and without arms, presented their petition to the regent. But Berlaymont, standing beside her, bade her not be afraid of "a pack of beggars" (*Gueux*). The word was overheard, and the young nobles at a banquet that night adopted it as their party name. The patriots adopted beggars' dress, and wore a medal with Philip's head on one side, and a beggar's sack on the other, with two hands crossed, and the legend "Faithful to the King even to the Sack." Orange and his friends now joined them.

The regent Margaret, becoming alarmed at popular demonstrations, agreed to abolish the Inquisition and to grant liberty of worship wherever the Reformed religion was already established. Then the great nobles undertook to pacify the people, and the Prince of Orange exerted himself in this cause at Antwerp. But the inflexible Philip could not brook such resistance to his measures, and began his tyrannical policy anew. The messengers sent to him on behalf of the nobles were treated kindly, but not permitted to return. He instructed Margaret to decoy and capture the leaders. But, warned in season, the nobles' confederacy was broken up; only Egmont lingered at court. Horn retired to his country house, and Orange withdrew to Dillenburg, after vainly telling Egmont of his danger.

In May, 1567, the Duke of Alva, already notorious for his bigotry and cruelty, was appointed commander of the forces, though Margaret informed the king that the heretics had been subdued. On the approach of the dreaded Alva, thousands of the people sought refuge in foreign lands, but enough remained to satisfy his vindictive blood-thirstiness. One of his first acts was to arrest the Counts Egmont and Horn at a dinner given by the Duke's son. After a brief trial they were led to the scaffold. These noblemen had uniformly resisted the endeavors of the Prince of Orange to induce them to take the field in resistance to the king's tyranny. They now obtained the reward of their scrupulous fidelity to a faithless sovereign. The Prince of Orange had been summoned to trial before Alva came, but declined, on the ground that he was an independent prince. None the less, he was condemned and declared an outlaw.

One engine of Alva's cruelty was a Council of Disturbances, appointed to investigate the tumults throughout the country. In many of these there had been destruction of images and church ornaments, which embittered the zeal of the persecutors. So terrible were the proceedings of this council, at which Alva presided, that it was soon called the "Blood Tribunal." The whole country became a charnel-house. At last the Prince of Orange, filled with indignation at Alva's cruelty and butchery, published, in 1568, a declaration of his reasons for taking up arms against Philip. He sold his plate and jewels to hire troops in Germany, and in the following spring entered the Netherlands to carry on war. By this time the imperious Alva had thrust aside the Regent Margaret, who resigned her place, and was himself made Governor-General of the Netherlands. The Prince of Orange had planned attacks on three points. Two were unsuccessful; but in the third his brother Louis defeated Alva's lieutenant. But the troops were ill-paid, and Louis went into camp at Greningen. Alva, with 15,000 men, marched thither, and completely routed the undisciplined mercenaries, while only seven Spaniards were killed. Then the bloody work of the courts was renewed throughout the country.

The Prince of Orange issued a formal declaration of war

against the Duke of Alva, and summoned the people of the Netherlands to his aid. He crossed the Meuse and entered Brabant, but was unable to bring Alva to an engagement, or to induce any city to receive his own men. After a time Orange, finding the people of Brabant unwilling to rise against the tyrant, disbanded his troops. But later, at the suggestion of Admiral Coligny, he granted letters of marque to seamen against the Spaniards. Then the Sea Beggars inflicted much injury along the coast, and took many rich prizes. But they had no ports which might receive the ships they captured or serve as bases of operation until in 1572 William de la Marck seized Briel, at the mouth of the Meuse. This was the turning point in the struggle. Flushing and other towns soon passed into the hands of the rebels. Alva, who had been exulting in his success, and whose statue, made of captured cannon, had been erected at Antwerp, was soon aroused from his security. He withdrew his troops from Zealand, and in Holland he held only Amsterdam. In 1572 the revolt was so successful that Orange resumed his functions as King's Stadtholder of these provinces. He had now accepted the Protestant faith, and thus won the confidence of the people. He was distinguished by his enlightened advocacy of religious toleration. In July the estates of Holland met at Dort, and, recognizing him as legal ruler, voted money for the prosecution of the war. He had secured from Coligny the promise of help from France. In August he crossed the Meuse with his army, intending to raise the siege of Mons, which his brother Louis had captured and held against a Spanish force. But the terrible massacre of St. Bartholomew, in which Coligny perished, appalled Europe, and destroyed all his hopes. Still, he made an attempt to relieve his brother, but in vain. Mons was surrendered, and Louis with his soldiers was permitted to retire; but the town which the Spaniards had engaged to protect was given over to massacre and pillage. The war in the southern provinces was ended by this disaster, but it was still waged relentlessly in the north.

In November, 1572, the Duke of Alva departed from the Netherlands. It was his boast that he had caused 18,600 persons to be executed; the number of those destroyed by battle,

massacre, and starvation could not be reckoned. He was intensely avaricious as well as cruel, and left the country without paying his debts. Alva finally lost the favor of the king, who had upheld him so long, and died in disgrace in 1582, leaving the execrable memory of a miserly robber and a bloodthirsty murderer.

But the war in the Netherlands went on. In October, 1573, the new governor Requesens laid siege to the city of Leyden on the Rhine. In the following spring Louis of Nassau and his brother Henry were slain in an attempt on Nimeguen, and their army routed. The Prince of Orange was overwhelmed with grief at this defeat and the death of his two brothers. Yet several cities held out, especially Leyden. In order to drive off its besiegers William determined to resort to the desperate expedient of cutting the dykes and letting in the ocean. Though the damage to the country would be enormous, the fleet would be able to reach the town. The provisions in the place were already exhausted when the waters, aided by a tempest, swept into the Spanish intrenchments. The besiegers fled in the night and Leyden was saved. Yet in the main the Spaniards had the advantage in the war. But their oppression was so severe that the provinces of Holland and Zealand were driven to unite under the Prince of Orange as sovereign. At first it was proposed that he should rule in the name of King Philip; but when that arrangement brought no terms of peace, the sovereignty was offered in turn to Queen Elizabeth of England and to Charles IX. of France, only to be declined by each. Then the Prince proposed a desperate plan; that the whole population of Holland should embark with all their movable property on board of vessels, burn their windmills, pierce the dykes, and yield the country to the ocean, while they should seek new homes in some distant land. Just at this critical time Governor Requesens died, and the people waited for some new turn of affairs.

A terrible event did occur in 1576. The Spanish soldiers, whose pay was in arrears, mutinied, imprisoned their officers, and set out to rob and pillage the inhabitants, Catholic and Protestant, indiscriminately. Many cities and towns were sacked, among them being Antwerp, which was plundered

and set on fire in spite of the resistance of the burghers on November 4th. The representatives of fourteen provinces assembled at Ghent and drew up a "Pacification," which became the basis of the "Union of Brussels," formed in January, 1577. This agreement declared their aim to be the expulsion of the Spaniards, the maintenance of the Catholic religion, the suspension of edicts against heresy, the support of the king's authority, and the defence of the ancient rights of the country. In this movement for union the Prince of Orange was the leader. But he knew that Don John of Austria, who had just been appointed regent, would not abide by the principles of the Union though he had signed it. He advised that Don John should be seized and held as hostage till the king should grant their demands. His suspicions were not allayed when in February the States General signed a "Perpetual Edict," drawn up in King Philip's name, professing to grant everything desired. Don John wrote to the king, "This (Orange) is the pilot who guides the vessel. He alone can save or destroy it." He therefore made him splendid offers to betray the interests of his country. But neither riches or power nor other tempting rewards could induce him to abandon the cause he had espoused, though it involved poverty, distress and constant peril for himself.

Don John of Austria entered Brussels in state on the 1st of May, 1577. By his winning manners he soon broke up the union of the leaders. But the patriots of the north began to complain that he did not carry out the Perpetual Edict. The States General in December declared against his authority. To be rid of their annoyance he retired to Namur. The Prince of Orange was then invited to Brussels, and the States General put themselves under his direction. Then the Catholic party prevailed so far that Archduke Matthias of Austria was chosen as Governor-general of the Provinces. William of Orange acquiesced, yet still retained the actual power. Don John, however, was firmly resolved to restore the king's authority, and for this purpose gathered an army of 20,000 men. The States General had an army of equal numbers, but inferior discipline. When they met at Gembloux on January 31, 1578, the Spaniards won a decisive

victory with hardly the loss of a man. The lower Provinces were thus restored to the king's authority; but the States General, under the direction of Orange, raised a new army, and in August, after a severe battle, Don John's troops were driven from the field. Within a few weeks Don John died of fever at Namur, having appointed his nephew, Alexander Farnese of Parma, his successor.

The Walloon provinces, in which the Catholic religion prevailed, submitted to Philip and formed a separate league. The Prince of Orange, therefore, proposed a new union of the seven northern Provinces. On January 23, 1579, five of them agreed to the Union of Utrecht, which formed the basis of the United Netherlands. In the following May the Prince was chosen the first Stadtholder, though he did not fully accept sovereign power till August, 1582. Negotiations for peace with Philip were attempted, but in vain. To get rid of the unflinching supporter of liberty, the Duke of Parma advised that William should be assassinated. Philip and Cardinal Granvella therefore drew up a scandalous ban, accusing the Prince of Orange of many crimes, declaring him a traitor, offering a reward of 25,000 crowns to any one who should deliver him up, alive or dead, and promising to ennoble the perpetrator. The Prince replied to this ban by his "Apology," reciting Philip's illegal and inhuman acts, and claiming for the family of Nassau superior dignity over that of the Hapsburgs. This document was sent to the sovereigns of Europe. On July 26, 1581, the United Netherlands assembled at the Hague and solemnly declared their independence.

After several unsuccessful attempts had been made on the Stadtholder's life, a Spanish merchant's servant shot him in March, 1582. The ball passed through from under the right ear to the left jaw. The wound was dangerous, yet the Prince recovered. The assassin was cut down by persons standing near, and an accomplice was afterwards arrested, tried and executed. But on the 10th of July, 1584, Balthazar Gerard shot the Prince on the stairs in his own house. His last words were: "O my God, have mercy on my soul; have mercy on this poor people." The murderer was captured, tortured and executed with the utmost barbarity.

William of Orange was tall, well formed, of a dark complexion, with brown hair and eyes. He was remarkably upright and devoted to the public welfare, to which he sacrificed his ease, his fortune, and finally his life. His statesmanship was shown in his wise and comprehensive plans, while his courage and fertility of resource were displayed in sudden emergencies. His firmness was maintained amid misfortunes and disasters which would have crushed ordinary statesmen. His glory consists in having defeated the bigoted tyranny of Spain, and united a number of jealous States in harmonious action. His monument is the independence and greatness of the United Netherlands. Among all the statesmen of the Old World William of Orange, surnamed the Silent, approaches most nearly to the character and achievements of Washington.

The Deliverance of Leyden.

Leyden was thoroughly invested, no less than sixty-two redoubts, some of them having remained undestroyed from the previous siege, now girdling the city, while the besiegers already numbered nearly eight thousand, a force to be daily increased. On the other hand, there were no troops in the town, save a small corps of "freebooters," and five companies of the burgher guard. John Van der Does, Seigneur of Nordwyck, a gentleman of distinguished family, but still more distinguished for his learning, his poetical genius, and his valor, had accepted the office of military commandant.

The main reliance of the city, under God, was on the stout hearts of its inhabitants within the walls, and on the sleepless energy of William the Silent without. The Prince, hastening to comfort and encourage the citizens, although he had been justly irritated by their negligence in having omitted to provide more sufficiently against the emergency while there had yet been time, now reminded them that they were not about to contend for themselves alone, but that the fate of their country and of unborn generations would, in all human probability, depend on the issue about to be tried. Eternal glory would be their portion if they manifested a courage worthy of their race and of the sacred cause of religion and

liberty. He implored them to hold out at least three months, assuring them that he would, within that time, devise the means of their deliverance. The citizens responded courageously and confidently to these missives, and assured the Prince of their firm confidence in their own fortitude and his exertions.

And truly they had a right to rely on that calm and unflinching soul, as on a rock of adamant. All alone, without a being near him to consult, his right arm struck from him by the death of Louis, with no brother left to him but the untiring and faithful John, he prepared without delay for the new task imposed upon him. France, since the defeat and death of Louis, and the busy intrigues which had followed the accession of Henry III., had but small sympathy for the Netherlands. The English government, relieved from the fear of France, was more cold and haughty than ever. An Englishman, employed by Requesens to assassinate the Prince of Orange, had been arrested in Zealand, who impudently pretended that he had undertaken to perform the same office for Count John, with the full consent and privity of Queen Elizabeth. The provinces of Holland and Zealand were stanch and true, but the inequality of the contest between a few brave men, upon that handsbreadth of territory, and the powerful Spanish Empire seemed to render the issue hopeless.

The Prince had his headquarters at Delft and at Rotterdam. Between those two cities, an important fortress, called Polderwaert, secured him in the control of the alluvial quadrangle, watered on two sides by the Yssel and the Meuse. On the 29th of June, the Spaniards, feeling its value, had made an unsuccessful effort to carry this fort by storm. They had been beaten off, with the loss of several hundred men, the prince remaining in possession of the position, from which alone he could hope to relieve Leyden. He still held in his hand the keys with which he could unlock the ocean gates and let the waters in upon the land, and he had long been convinced that nothing could save the city but to break the dykes. Leyden was not upon the sea, but he could send the sea to Leyden, although an army fit to encounter the besieging force under Valdez could not be levied. The battle of Mookerheyde had, for the present, quite settled the question of land relief, but

it was possible to besiege the besiegers with the waves of the ocean. The Spaniards occupied the coast from the Hague to Vlaardingen, but the dykes along the Meuse and Yssel were in possession of the prince. He determined that these should be pierced, while, at the same time, the great sluices at Rotterdam, Schiedam and Delftshaven should be opened. The damage to the fields, villages and growing crops would be enormous, but he felt that no other course could rescue Leyden, and with it the whole of Holland from destruction. His clear expositions and impassioned eloquence at last overcame all resistance. By the middle of July the estates fully consented to his plan, and its execution was immediately undertaken. "Better a drowned land than a lost land," cried the patriots, with enthusiasm, as they devoted their fertile fields to desolation. The enterprise for restoring their territory, for a season, to the waves, from which it had been so patiently rescued, was conducted with as much regularity as if it had been a profitable undertaking. A capital was formally subscribed, for which a certain number of bonds were issued, payable at a long date. In addition to this preliminary fund, a monthly allowance of forty-five guldens was voted by the estates, until the work should be completed, and a large sum contributed by the ladies of the land, who freely furnished their plate, jewelry, and costly furniture to the furtherance of the scheme.

On the 28th of September a dove flew into the city, bringing a letter from Admiral Boisot. In this despatch, the position of the fleet at North Aa was described in encouraging terms, and the inhabitants were assured that, in a very few days at farthest, the long-expected relief would enter their gates. The letter was read publicly upon the market-place, and the bells were rung for joy. Nevertheless, on the morrow, the vanes pointed to the east, the waters, so far from rising, continued to sink, and Admiral Boisot was almost in despair. He wrote to the Prince, that if the spring tide, now to be expected, should not, together with a strong and favorable wind, come immediately to their relief, it would be in vain to attempt anything further, and the expedition would, of necessity, be abandoned. The tempest came to their relief. A violent equinoctial gale,

on the night of the 1st and 2d of October, came storming from the northwest, shifting after a few hours full eight points, and then blowing still more violently from the southwest. The waters of the North Sea were piled in vast masses upon the southern coast of Holland, and then dashed furiously landward, the ocean rising over the earth, and sweeping with unrestrained power across the ruined dykes.

In the course of twenty-four hours the fleet at North Aa, instead of nine inches, had more than two feet of water. No time was lost. The Kirk-way, which had been broken through according to the Prince's instruction, was now completely overflowed, and the fleet sailed at midnight, in the midst of storm and darkness. A few sentinel vessels of the enemy challenged them as they steadily rowed toward Zoeterwoude. The answer was a flash from Boisot's cannon, lighting up the black waste of waters. There was a fierce naval midnight battle; a strange spectacle among the branches of those quiet orchards, and with the chimney stacks of half-submerged farm houses rising around the contending vessels. The neighboring village of Zoeterwoude shook with the discharges of the Zealanders' cannon, and the Spaniards assembled in that fortress knew that the rebel admiral was at least afloat and on his course. The enemy's vessels were soon sunk, their crews hurled into the water. On went the fleet, sweeping over the broad waters which lay between Zoeterwoude and Zwieten. As they approached some shallows, which led into the great mere, the Zealanders dashed into the sea, and with sheer strength shouldered every vessel through. Two obstacles still lay in their path—the forts of Zoeterwoude and Lammen, distant from the city five hundred and two hundred and fifty yards respectively. Strong redoubts, both well supplied with troops and artillery, they were likely to give a rough reception to the light flotilla; but the panic which had hitherto driven their foes before the advancing patriots, had reached Zoeterwoude. Hardly was the fleet in sight when the Spaniards, in the early morning, poured out from the fortress, and fled precipitately to the left, along a road which led in a westerly direction towards the Hague. Their narrow path was rapidly vanishing in the waves, and hundreds sank beneath the con-

stantly deepening and treacherous flood. The wild Zealanders too sprang from their vessels upon the crumbling dyke, and drove their retreating foes into the sea. They hurled their harpoons at them with an accuracy acquired in many a polar chase; they plunged into the waves in the keen pursuit, attacking them with boat-hook and dagger. The numbers who thus fell beneath these corsairs, who neither gave nor took quarter, were never counted, but probably not less than a thousand perished. The rest effected their escape to the Hague.

Meantime, the citizens had grown wild with expectation. A dove had been despatched by Boisot, informing them of his precise position, and a number of citizens accompanied the burgomaster, at nightfall, toward the tower of Hengist.— "Yonder," cried the magistrate, stretching out his hand towards Lammen, "yonder, behind that fort, are bread and meat, and brethren in thousands. Shall all this be destroyed by the Spanish guns, or shall we rush to the rescue of our friends?" "We will tear the fortress to fragments with our teeth and nails," was the reply, "before the relief, so long expected, shall be wrested from us." It was resolved that a sortie, in conjunction with the operations of Boisot, should be made against Lammen with the earliest dawn. Night descended upon the scene, a pitch dark night, full of anxiety to the Spaniards, to the armada, to Leyden. Strange sights and sounds occurred at different moments to bewilder the anxious sentinels. A long procession of lights issuing from the fort was seen to flit across the black face of the waters in the dead of night, and the whole of the city wall, between the Cowgate and the Tower of Burgundy, fell with a loud crash. The horror-struck citizens thought that the Spaniards were upon them at last; the Spaniards imagined the noise to indicate a desperate sortie of the citizens. Everything was vague and mysterious.

Day dawned, at length, after the feverish night, and the Admiral prepared for the assault. Within the fortress reigned a death-like stillness, which inspired a sickening suspicion. Had the city, indeed, been carried in the night; had the massacre already commenced; had all this labor and audacity

been expended in vain? Suddenly a man was decried wading breast-high through the water from Lammen towards the fleet, while at the same time one solitary boy was seen to wave his cap from the summit of the fort. After a moment of doubt, the happy mystery was solved. The Spaniards had fled, panic-struck, during the darkness. Their position would still have enabled them, with firmness, to frustrate the enterprise of the patriots, but the hand of God, which had sent the ocean and the tempest to the deliverance of Leyden, had struck her enemies with terror likewise. The lights which had been seen moving during the night were the lanterns of the retreating Spaniards, and the boy who was now waving his triumphant signal from the battlements had alone witnessed the spectacle. So confident was he in the conclusion to which it led him that he had volunteered at daybreak to go thither all alone. The magistrates, fearing a trap, hesitated for a moment to believe the truth, which soon, however, became quite evident. Valdez, flying himself from Leyderdorp, had ordered Colonel Borgia to retire with all his troops from Lammen. Thus the Spaniards had retreated at the very moment that an extraordinary accident had laid bare a whole side of the city for their entrance. The noise of the wall, as it fell, only inspired them with fresh alarm; for they believed that the citizens had sallied forth in the darkness, to aid the advancing flood in the work of destruction. All obstacles being now removed, the fleet of Boisot swept by Lammen, and entered the city on the morning of the 3rd of October [1574]. Leyden was relieved.

The quays were lined with the famishing population, as the fleet rowed through the canals, every human being who could stand coming forth to greet the preservers of the city. Bread was thrown from every vessel among the crowd. The poor creatures, who for two months had tasted no wholesome human food and who had literally been living within the jaws of death, snatched eagerly the blessed gift, at last too liberally bestowed. Many choked themselves to death in the greediness with which they devoured their bread; others became ill with the effects of plenty thus suddenly succeeding starvation;—but these were isolated cases, a repetition of which

was prevented. The admiral, stepping ashore, was welcomed by the magistracy, and a solemn procession was immediately formed. Magistrates and citizens, wild Zealanders, emaciated burgher guards, sailors, soldiers, women, children, —nearly every living person within the walls,—all repaired without delay to the great church, stout Admiral Boisot leading the way. The starving and heroic city, which had been so firm in its resistance to an earthly king, now bent itself in humble gratitude before the King of kings. After prayers the whole vast congregation joined in the thanksgiving hymn.—JOHN LOTHROP MOTLEY.

ASSASSINATION OF WILLIAM THE SILENT.

On Tuesday, the 10th of July, 1584, at about half-past twelve, the prince with his wife on his arm, and followed by the ladies and gentlemen of his family, was going to the dining room. William the Silent was dressed upon that day, according to his usual custom, in very plain fashion. He wore a wide-leaved, loosely-shaped hat of dark felt, with a silken cord around the crown—such as had been worn by the Beggars in the early days of the revolt. A high ruff encircled his neck, from which also depended one of the Beggars' medals, while a loose surcoat of gray frieze cloth, over a tawny leather doublet, with wide, slashed underclothes, completed his costume.

Balthazar Gerard presented himself at the doorway, and demanded a passport. The princess, struck with the pale and agitated countenance of the man, anxiously questioned her husband concerning the stranger. The prince calmly observed that "it was merely a person who came for a passport," ordering, at the same time, a secretary forthwith to prepare one. The princess, still not relieved, observed in an undertone that "she had never seen so villainous a countenance." Orange, however, not at all impressed with the appearance of Gerard, conducted himself at table with his usual cheerfulness, conversing much with the burgomaster of Leeuwarden, the only guest present at the family dinner, concerning the political and religious aspects of Friesland.

At two o'clock the company rose from table. The prince led the way, intending to pass to his private apartment above. The dining-room, which was on the ground floor, opened into a little square vestibule, which communicated, through an arched passage-way, with the main entrance into the court-yard. This ves-

tibule was also directly at the foot of the wooden staircase leading to the next floor, and was scarcely six feet in width. Upon its left side, as one approached the stairway, was an obscure arch, sunk deep in the wall, and completely in the shadow of the door. Behind this arch a portal opened to the narrow lane at the side of the house. The stairs themselves were completely lighted by a large window half-way up the flight.

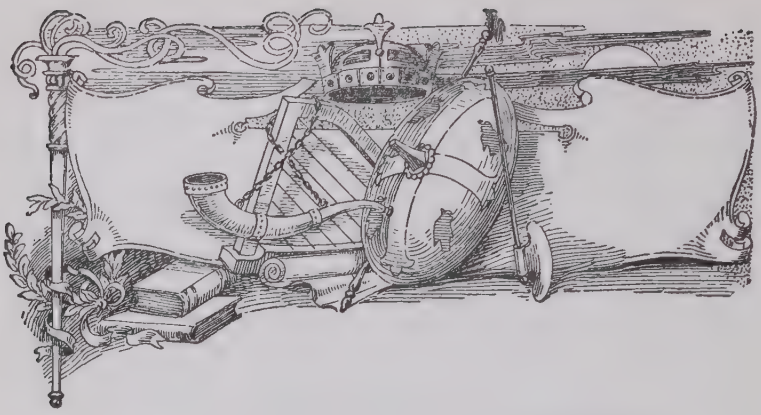
The prince came from the dining-room and began leisurely to ascend. He had only reached the second stair when a man emerged from the sunken arch, and, standing within a foot or two of him, discharged a pistol at his heart. Three balls entered his body, one of which, passing quite through him, struck with violence against the wall beyond. The prince exclaimed in French, as he felt the wound, "O my God, have mercy upon my soul! O my God, have mercy upon this poor people!" These were the last words he ever spoke, save that when his sister, Catharine of Schwartzburg, immediately afterward asked him if he commended his soul to Jesus Christ, he faintly answered "Yes." His master of the horse, Jacob van Maldere, had caught him in his arms as the fatal shot was fired. The prince was then placed on the stairs for an instant, when he immediately began to swoon. He was afterward laid upon a couch in the dining-room, where in a few minutes he breathed his last in the arms of his wife and sister. . . .

God alone knows the heart of man. He alone can unweave the tangled skein of human motives, and detect the hidden springs of human action; but as far as can be judged by a careful observation of undisputed facts, and by a diligent collation of public and private documents, it would seem that no man—not even Washington—has ever been inspired by a purer patriotism than that of William of Orange. . . . . Whether originally of a timid temperament or not, he was certainly possessed of perfect courage at last. In siege and battle—in the deadly air of pestilential cities—in the long exhaustion of mind and body which comes from unduly protracted labor and anxiety—amid the countless conspiracies of assassins—he was daily exposed to death in every shape. Within two years, five different attempts against his life had been discovered. Rank and fortune were offered to any malefactor who would compass the murder. He had already been shot through the head, and almost mortally wounded. Under such circumstances even a brave man might have seen a pitfall at every step, a dagger in every hand, and poison in every cup. On the contrary, he was ever cheerful, and hardly took more precau-

tion than usual. "God in His mercy," said he, with unaffected simplicity, "will maintain my innocence and my honor during my life and in future ages. As to my fortune and my life, I have dedicated both, long since, to His service. He will do therewith what pleases Him for His glory and my salvation." . . . .

He possessed, too, that which to the heathen philosopher seemed the greatest good—the sound mind in the sound body. His physical frame was, after death, found so perfect, that a long life might have been in store for him, notwithstanding all which he had endured. The desperate illness of 1574, the frightful gunshot wound inflicted by Jaureguy in 1582, had left no traces. The physicians pronounced that his body presented an aspect of perfect health. His temperament was cheerful. At table he was always animated and merry, and this jocoseness was partly natural, partly intentional. In the darkest hours of his country's trial, he affected a serenity which he was far from feeling, so that his apparent gayety at momentous epochs was even censured by dullards, who could not comprehend its philosophy, nor applaud the flippancy of William the Silent.

He went through life bearing the load of a people's sorrows upon his shoulders with a smiling face. Their name was the last word upon his lips, save the simple affirmative with which the soldier who had been battling for the right all his lifetime, commended his soul, in dying, "to the great Captain, Christ." The people were grateful and affectionate, for they trusted the character of their "Father William," and not all the clouds which calumny could collect ever dimmed to their eyes the radiance of that lofty mind to which they were accustomed, in their darkest calamities, to look for light. As long as he lived he was the guiding-star of a whole brave nation, and when he died the little children cried in the streets.—JOHN LOTHROP MOTLEY.



RUDOLF OF HAPSBURG.

AMONG the great dynasties of Europe the House of Hapsburg takes precedence as the oldest. Its long continuance has been due rather to a succession of favoring circumstances than the merits of individual members. It derives its name (meaning "Hawk's Castle") from an old baronial stronghold in the canton of Aargau, in Switzerland. There Rudolf, the first of the family to attain the imperial dignity, was born in 1218. His father was Albert, the fourth count of Hapsburg, one of the favorite captains of the valiant Frederic II., usually distinguished as the King of the Romans. His mother was Hedwige of Kyburg, descended, through her mother, from the once powerful House of Zaringen. Rudolf was born in 1218, and the Frederic stood as his godfather at baptism. Rudolf early gave indications of surprising mental and bodily vigor, and was trained in all the violent exercises then indispensable to knighthood. He was soon occupied in warfare with the neighboring barons and with the bandits who infested their territories. When the emperor went on the Crusade to the Holy Land Count Albert accompanied him, but died at Ascalon in 1240.

Rudolf, now twenty-two years of age, succeeded to the ancestral possessions, and found that he must maintain them

RUDOLF OF HAPSBURG.

as they had been for the most part acquired, by fighting. His vassals were organized into a well-disciplined body, and made incursions wherever he was likely to find spoil for them or new territory for himself. In 1245 he married Gertrude, the daughter of the Count of Hohenburg, and received with her a handsome dowry, so that his inheritance was by this time doubled. In 1253 Rudolf was engaged in a night assault on the city of Basel, and had almost succeeded in the capture, when his followers set fire to a nunnery. For this sacrilegious act Rudolf was excommunicated, and his subjects were thus released from their allegiance. To expiate his offence Rudolf went on a crusade, not to the Holy Land, where his father had perished, but into Prussia, where warlike pagans were giving trouble to the Christians. His valor and victories procured his restoration to the Church's favor. Yet the Swiss warrior turned aside to aid the city of Strasburg in its war against its bishop, and received from it large territories, while the citizens reared a monument to his name, parts of which still exist. In 1264 Rudolf succeeded to the wide domains of his uncle, Hartman, Count of Kyburg, including Berne, Zurich, Lucerne and Zug. He became also protector of the Forest Cantons. The powerful Werner, Archbishop of Mainz, was so pleased with Rudolf's administration of his enlarged territories, that he declared him a fit occupant of the imperial throne, which had been vacant two years. The archbishop sounded other electors, and won them all over to his views, except Ottocar, King of Bohemia, whose ambassadors protested, though in vain, against Rudolf's election. The decision was made at Frankfort in 1273. Rudolf was then besieging Basel, the citizens of which place had killed some of his relations in an affray. On the news of his election the people of Basel were the first to hail him as head of the empire and to swear allegiance to him.

Rudolf hastened to Aix-la-Chapelle, where he was crowned King of the Romans by his friend, the archbishop. It was necessary to have his election acknowledged by the Papal See, and here no difficulty was presented. Pope Gregory X. was a man of conciliatory temper, and willingly acknowledged Rudolf as head of the Western Empire, while the new

emperor, on his part, made several concessions: he renounced all jurisdiction over Rome, all feudal superiority over the Marches of Ancona and the Duchy of Spoleto, all interference in ecclesiastical elections, and, excepting the right of temporal investiture of newly-elected bishops, which he retained, he acknowledged the spiritual independence of the Germanic church. This was a happy termination of the quarrel of two centuries' duration between the Church and the Empire.

Rudolf next turned his attention to Ottocar, who still refused to acknowledge him as emperor. Ottocar, besides Bohemia, had taken possession of Moravia, Austria, Styria, Carinthia — in short, of the greatest part of the present Austrian Empire. Rudolf laid siege to Vienna, and, crossing the river Danube on a bridge of boats, defeated Ottocar, who sued for and obtained peace by giving up Austria, Styria, Carinthia and Carniola. Rudolf confirmed him in the possession of Bohemia and Moravia. He appointed his two surviving sons, Albert and Rudolf, joint dukes of Austria and Styria, giving Carinthia to Meinhard, Count of Tyrol, whose daughter had married his son Albert, but stipulating for the right of reversion to his own family in the event of the extinction of Meinhard's male posterity. Ottocar, having soon after revolted, was again defeated and killed in battle, and his son, Wenceslaus, who had married a daughter of Rudolf, succeeded him as King of Bohemia, and continued the peaceful liege of his father-in-law.

When old age began to tell on the emperor, and he felt that his days were numbered, he called together a congress of electors at Frankfurt, and desired them to choose his only surviving son Albert as his successor. This they refused to do until the death of the emperor. He now paid a short visit to Switzerland, and on his return to Austria expired on the 15th of July, 1291.

Rudolf was the founder of the Austrian dynasty. His great merit is having restored order and tranquillity to the internal administration of Germany. In successive Diets he compelled or persuaded the princes to submit their differences to arbitration, to swear to the observance of the public peace, and to consent to the demolition of the fortresses which had

been erected by the nobles for plunder as well as for war. In one year he razed seventy of these strongholds, and he condemned to death no fewer than twenty-nine nobles of Thuringia, who still presumed to disturb the public peace. Rudolf granted many charters to various towns and rising municipalities. His reign exhibited what was then a remarkable novelty for Germany, and that was internal peace. His probity became proverbial, and his respect for religion is attested by many facts. He forgave freely personal wrongs, and gratefully rewarded personal services, especially in those who had rendered him assistance in his early life, and he was accessible to the humblest of his people. Rudolf possessed surprising mental and bodily vigor. Cautious as he was bold, he was sagacious in council as he was impetuous in action.

The First of the Hapsburgs.

Rudolf, Count von Hapsburg, had been held at the font by Frederick II., a mark of distinction bestowed by that monarch for his father's faithful services. He had fought in Prussia (whither he had undertaken a crusade in expiation of the crime of burning down a convent during a feud with Basle), for Ottocar, by whom he had been knighted, and had, since that period, fought with equal bravery and skill for every party that chanced to suit his interests; at one moment aiding the nobles in their innumerable petty feuds against the cities of Strassburg and Basle, at another fighting under the banner of Strassburg against the bishop and the nobility, or making head in his own cause against the abbot of St. Gall, and his own uncle, the Count von Kyburg, on account of a disputed inheritance, etc. Werner, archbishop of Mayence, whom Rudolf had escorted across the Alps, mediated in his favor with the Pope. He had also personally recommended himself, as a jealous Guelph, to the Pope, Gregory X., at Mugello, in the Appenines, and, notwithstanding the feuds he had formerly carried on with the bishops and abbots, now played the part of a most humble servant of the church; he gained great fame, on one occasion, by leaping from his saddle and presenting his horse to a priest who was carrying the pyx. He agreed, if elected, to yield unconditional obedience to the Pope, to renounce all claim upon or interference with Italy, and to enter into alliance with the house of Anjou. Frederick von Hohenzollern, Burggrave of Nurem-

berg (the ancestor of the Electors of Brandenburg and of the royal line of Prussia), acted as his mediator with the princes, to three of the most powerful among whom he offered his daughters in marriage, Mechtilda to Louis of Pfalz, Bavaria, the cruel murderer of his first wife; Hedwig to Otto of Brandenburg, and Agnes to Albert of Saxony. He, moreover, promised never to act, when emperor, without the consent of the princes, and on every important occasion to obtain their sanction in writing. He confirmed them all, Ottocar of Bohemia excepted, in the possession of the territory belonging to the empire, and in the enjoyment of the hereditary lands of the Staufen illegally seized by them. That the election of a new emperor by the Pope and the princes merely hinged upon these conditions was perfectly natural, the whole power lying in their hands. This was the simple result of the downfall of the Staufen, and of the defeat of the Ghibellines. Rudolf was engaged in a feud with the city of Basle when Frederick von Zollern arrived with the news of his election, but instantly concluded peace with that city, marched down the Rhine, and was crowned at Aix-la-Chapelle, A.D. 1273. The real imperial crown and the sceptre were still in Italy; the latter was supplied, by way of flattery to the church, by a crucifix. The ceremony of his coronation was enhanced by that of the marriage of his three daughters. Henry of Bavaria, the brother of Louis, was also won over after some opposition, and his son Otto wedded to Rudolf's fourth daughter, Catherina. The lower classes in the empire were, however, filled with discontent. The coalition between the great vassals inspired them with the deepest apprehension, but they were finally pacified. The lower nobility, who had rendered themselves hated by their rapine and insolence, were at strife with the towns. Rudolf, who had up to this period been a mere military adventurer, a robber-knight, now headed the great princes against his former associates, and reduced them all, even the wild Count Eberhard, of Wurtemberg, to submission. This policy flattered the cities, which Rudolf also sought to win by affability; he bestowed the dignity of knighthood with great solemnity on Jacob Muller, of Zurich, in order to gain for his Swiss possessions the protection of the neighboring towns. His policy was on the whole successful, although he was still viewed with great mistrust by many of the cities.

Gregory X. hastened to bestow his benediction on his new creature, and in order to deprive him at once of any pretext for a visit to Rome, and of effectually closing Italy against the Germans,

came in person to Lausanne. Rudolf knelt humbly at the pontiff's feet and vowed unconditional obedience, an action he afterwards attempted to palliate by a jest, saying that "Rome was the lion's den, into which all the footsteps entered, but whence none returned. He, therefore, preferred serving to fighting with the lion of the church."

The subjection of Ottocar had been one of the conditions annexed to the possession of the crown. The vote of the king of Bohemia, although that of the most powerful vassal of the empire, had therefore been omitted in the election, or rather, the whole scheme of Rudolf's accession had been managed too secretly and rapidly for interference on his part. Ottocar, having rendered himself hateful by his severity, Stephen of Hungary, the son of Bela, made a fresh attempt (A.D. 1270) to gain possession of Styria. The Styrians, however, hated the Hungarian even more than the Bohemian yoke, and he was repulsed. Whilst pursuing the fugitives across the Neusiedler lake, the ice gave way, and numbers of the Styrians were drowned. The Hungarians made fresh inroads, and Ottocar redoubled his tyranny. Among other acts of cruelty, he ordered the Styrian knight Seyfried von Moehrenberg, whom sickness had hindered from coming to his rendezvous, to be dragged at a horse's tail and then hanged by the feet. He also continued to seize the castles of the nobility, and threatened to cast the children of the expelled lords, whom he retained as hostages, from the roofs. The Austrians and Styrians were, consequently, fully justified in laying a solemn accusation against their blood-thirsty tyrant before the diet at Wurzburg, A.D. 1275. Bernhard von Wolkersdorf and Hartnid von Wildon spoke in their name. Rudolf, after sealing a compact with Henry of Bavaria and with Stephen of Hungary, took the field at the head of a large army, and Ottocar, conscious of guilt and surrounded by foes, yielded, again ceded Austria, Styria, Carinthia and Carniola to the empire, and was merely allowed to hold Bohemia and Moravia in fee of the emperor. In 1276 he came, attired in the royal robes of Bohemia, to an island on the Danube, where Rudolf, meanly clad as a horse-soldier, received him under a tent, which, whilst the king was kneeling at his feet and taking the oath of fealty, was raised at a given signal, in order to degrade the monarch in the eyes of the people; a mean and dastardly action; and the reproach of vanity can alone be cast upon the emperor, the king of Bohemia having merely appeared in a garb suited to his dignity, on an occasion which, far from elevating his pride, deeply

wounded it; nor can his high-spirited queen be blamed for inciting him to revenge the insult. Rudolf, meanwhile, sought to secure his footing in Austria. Unable openly to appropriate that country as family property, he gradually and separately won the nobility, cities and bishops over to his interest, and induced the spiritual lords more especially to bestow a number of single fiefs on his sons, whom he by this means firmly settled in the country. Ottocar, instigated by his queen, Cunigunda, at length declared war, and marched at the head of his entire force against Rudolf. His plan of battle was betrayed to Rudolf by his best general, Milota von Diedicz, who thus revenged the execution of his brother. The Hungarians also came to Rudolf's assistance, and Ottocar, defeated on the Marchfeld near Vienna (A.D. 1278), by treachery and superior numbers, fell by the hands of the two young Moehrenbergs, who sought him in the thickest of the fight.

Rudolf held a triumphal festival at Vienna, where the centenarian knight, Otto von Haslan, broke a lance with one of his own great-grandsons. The greatest hilarity prevailed. Rudolf, meanwhile, cautiously made use of passing events in order to enrich his family. His son Rudolf was elevated to the dukedom of Swabia, and his hand forced upon Agnes, the daughter of Ottocar. Bohemia's rightful heir, Wenzel, the infant son of Ottocar, was given up to Otto of Brandenburg, the emperor's son-in-law, by whom he was utterly neglected, whilst, under the title of his guardian, the duke plundered Bohemia and carried off wagon loads of silver and gold. Rudolf's second son, Albert, received the duchy of Austria and the hand of Elizabeth, daughter of Meinhard, count of Tyrol, who was created duke of Carinthia. Rudolf also gave his fifth daughter, Clementia, in marriage to Charles Martell, the son of Charles d'Anjou, by whom the last of the Hohenstaufen had been put to death at Naples. In 1280 a Frenchman was raised, under the name of Martin IV., to the pontifical chair. The hatred borne by this Pope to the Germans was such that he openly said that "he wished Germany was a pond full of fish, and he a pike, that he might swallow them all." Rudolf, nevertheless, deeply humbled himself before him.—The hand of Gutta, Rudolf's sixth daughter, was forced upon the youthful heir to Bohemia, who was ransomed at a heavy price by his subjects. His mother, Cunigunda, had, meanwhile, married a Minnesinger, named Zawitch, whom, on his release, Wenzel immediately ordered to execution, as a slight reparation for the injured honor of his father. — WILLIAM MENZEL.

CHARLES I. OF ENGLAND.

CHARLES I., the second son of James I., and Anne of Denmark, was born at Dunfermline, Scotland, November 19, 1600. By the death of his elder brother, Henry, he became the Prince of Wales in 1612. Charles was his father's favorite son, though totally unlike him in person and demeanor. While James was ugly, awkward and excessively talkative, Charles was handsome, grave, reserved. His only physical defect was a stammer which impeded his speech. He was well educated, and with some of his father's fondness for theological controversy, had a still better taste in literature and art. He inherited also his father's exaggerated idea of the royal prerogative, and notwithstanding his outwardly gracious manner, he was insincere and obstinate.

In 1623, Charles, under the influence of his favorite, the frivolous Duke of Buckingham, went on a romantic visit to Madrid, where he fell in love with the Infanta. When Spanish etiquette prohibited a private interview with her, the ardent lover leaped over the wall of the garden in which she was walking. His infatuation led him to make promises to the Spanish ministers about the treatment of Catholics in England which it was impossible for him to fulfil. But by the time that the Spaniards had been induced to consent to the match, the prince's ardor had cooled, and when he returned to England, his father insisted on the restoration of the Palatinate to his son-in-law, Frederic, as a preliminary condition to the marriage. This could not be effected, so the Spanish alliance fell through, and in 1624, Buckingham arranged a marriage with Princess Henrietta Maria of France.

His marriage, as well as the whole conduct of Charles, filled the English people with suspicion of his inclination to Catholicism.

In March, 1625, Charles succeeded to the throne. The first Parliament showed its strongly Protestant feeling by sending Montagu to the Tower for preaching the real presence. It also refused to grant tonnage and poundage (that is, taxes on every tun of wine and pound of merchandise imported into the kingdom) for more than a year. This was intended to compel the king to summon them each year. Charles, offended at this distrust, dissolved the Parliament and, to show his dislike, made Montagu royal chaplain. Still under the influence of Buckingham, the king engaged in warlike schemes, which were doomed to failure. To raise funds even the crown jewels were pawned. A new Parliament was summoned and the House of Commons was bold enough to impeach the Duke of Buckingham. But the king declared that the duke had acted by his direction and sent Sir John Eliot, the leader of the movement, to prison. Parliament was dissolved, and the king raised money by forced loans. Those who refused to pay were imprisoned. Buckingham persisted in his warlike plans, and led an expedition to the Isle of Rhé, which failed ignominiously.

In 1628, Charles called his third Parliament. It drew up the famous Petition of Right, condemning forced loans, the use of martial law in time of peace, and other tyrannical measures. The king was obliged to assent to this Petition, thereby admitting that no taxes could be raised without consent of Parliament, and that no man could be imprisoned without due process of law. Charles signed this Petition as reluctantly as John had signed the Magna Charta four hundred years before. Then the Commons professed their willingness to grant tonnage and poundage, if the king would admit that his previous acts had been illegal. This he refused, and the Commons forbade any one to pay such taxes at the risk of being considered a public enemy. The king dissolved the unruly Parliament and threw some of its leaders into prison. Sir John Eliot, the most eminent, died in the Tower. The Duke of Buckingham had been assassinated on the streets of Portsmouth by a disappointed officer.

For eleven years, from March, 1629, to April, 1640, Charles reigned without a Parliament. The Petition of Right was utterly disregarded. Vexatious burdens were imposed on the people. Monopolies were granted, old claims of royalty were revived. Finally the king levied ship-money, that is, taxes to be used professedly for building ships, but really desired by the king to maintain an army. John Hampden and other rich men resisted this illegal measure and were imprisoned. They were finally released when the courts declared in their favor. But in the meantime the poor who did not pay had been compelled to serve in the army and navy. The king's chief assistant in his tyranny was Thomas Wentworth, Earl of Strafford, who had for a time been a leader of the popular party. When made minister, he instituted the policy called "Thorough," by which England was to be made subject to a standing army. He was sent to govern Ireland, where his severity provoked the hostility afterwards manifested in the Irish massacre. In England two old instruments of tyranny were revived—the Court of High Commission and the Star Chamber, in which men could be punished without a legal trial or means of defence. The king supported Archbishop Laud in his persecution of the Puritans and his efforts to restore Catholic doctrines and practices in the Church of England. In Scotland also the usages of the Reformed Church were violated. The Presbyterians were commanded to receive a liturgy and a book of canons, but the common people stoutly resisted. Soon a Scotch army was on its way into England to vindicate their liberties. Charles then, in 1640, unable to quell this rebellion, summoned a new Parliament. Before it would vote supplies, it requested an investigation into the old grievances. It was, therefore, dissolved, and is known in history as the Short Parliament.

In November, 1640, the king was compelled to summon another Parliament, the most famous of all such assemblages. From the duration of its power it is known as the Long Parliament. All its members went to work to restore English freedom. The Court of High Commission, the Star Chamber and the Council of York, which Strafford had established, were speedily abolished. Just at this juncture the great rebel-

lion in Ireland broke out. The Irish had never been properly treated by the English. They were not looked upon as fellow-Christians; sometimes hardly as fellow-creatures. Strafford had ruled them with a rod of iron. The Irish now rebelled and inflicted a terrible massacre upon the English and Scotch Protestants who had been sent by James to take possession of lands formerly belonging to Irish chiefs and tribes. Great consternation arose when the Irish leader claimed to have a commission with the king's seal, authorizing them to take up arms. Charles had intended to use the Irish as soldiers, but had never dreamed of a massacre.

John Pym, the courageous and energetic leader of the Commons, brought in articles of impeachment against Strafford, and these were changed to a bill of attainder. In vain did the king endeavor to save the minister. He was condemned and executed. The impeachment of Laud was also proposed, but not effected. Charles went to Edinburgh and endeavored to win over the Presbyterian leaders, yet also intrigued with their adversaries. Just after his return, on December 1, 1641, a committee of the English Commons presented to him the Grand Remonstrance. For a month the excitement in London increased. On January 3, 1642, the king commanded the attorney-general to impeach Pym, Hampden and three other leaders for high treason. When a sergeant came to arrest them, the House sent a committee to assure the king they would give a speedy answer. But on the next day Charles, with guards to the number of 400, entered the House of Commons, and demanded the five members, who had taken refuge in the city. The Speaker on his knees replied that he could speak only as ordered by the House. Throughout the city the cry was raised, "Privilege of Parliament." The Commons departed from Westminster Hall and adjourned to the city, where crowds gathered to protect them. On the 10th Charles retired to Hampton Court, and on the next morning the five members returned to Parliament in triumph. The queen sailed from Dover with the crown jewels.

Parliament now demanded new concessions from the king. Negotiations went on for some time, but it was felt that the

royal word could not be trusted. On August 22, 1642, the royal standard was raised at Nottingham, and the Civil War began. At first, as at Edgehill, success was on the king's side. Hampden fell in a skirmish with Prince Rupert's cavalry. Charles summoned a Parliament to meet at Oxford, declaring the one at Westminster to be without authority. The Earl of Essex was the first commander-in-chief of the Parliamentary forces; but, after a year's trial, it was seen that he was deficient in vigor. Sir Thomas Fairfax succeeded him; but, when the troops had become accustomed to the use of arms, a still greater leader appeared. Oliver Cromwell, a member of Parliament, not a trained soldier, had determined to model his own regiment according to the needs of the times. He selected men of good character and education to fight for the liberties of England. Their moral conduct was exemplary, and they were thoroughly religious. When their courage was tested in the field, they became known as "Cromwell's Ironsides." In 1644, at Marston Moor, near York, they defeated the impetuous Prince Rupert. In June, 1645, the king's army was finally defeated at Naseby. Letters of his were found and published which showed that he was seeking aid from foreign Powers, with the promise of toleration to Catholics.

In May, 1646, Charles, who had been in Wales, fled to the Scotch at Newark. He hoped to profit by their hostility to the English; but in January, 1647, they delivered him to the Parliament for £400,000, which they claimed for war expenses. Parliament had joined with the Scotch in the Solemn League and Covenant, and sought to establish Presbyterianism; but the king refused his consent. In June the army took possession of his person, and he was brought to Hampton Court. In the differences between the Scotch, the Parliament and the army, Charles hoped to find some means of escape. The delay proved fatal to his hopes. A party gained ascendancy which insisted that even the king should not be exempt from punishment of treason. Charles, fearing assassination, fled to the Isle of Wight, but was soon recaptured.

Parliament still carried on negotiations with him, though no reliance could be placed on his word. Then the army,

growing impatient, sent Colonel Pride to purge the House, and 140 members were excluded. The Peers adjourned, refusing to try the Lord's anointed. But the remnant of the Commons, on January 1, 1649, voted the appointment of a High Court of Justice, consisting of 132 commissioners. Bradshaw was made Lord President. On the 20th Charles Stuart was brought before the court, which he proudly refused to acknowledge, declaring that the Scriptures command obedience to kings. After four days' trial he was condemned to death as a tyrant, murderer and traitor to his country. Throughout his trial he behaved with firmness and dignity. On the afternoon of January 30, 1649, Charles was beheaded in front of Whitehall Palace. His body was conveyed to Windsor and buried in St. George's Chapel. After his death several works appeared, purporting to be written by him. The principal one is the "Eikon Basilike: The Portraiture of his Sacred Majesty in his Solitude and Sufferings." After the Restoration Bishop Gauden declared himself its author, and his claim has not been seriously disputed. The views presented were undoubtedly those held by the king, but the the language and manner are those of the bishop.

Charles Stuart was in many respects the best of his family that sat on the throne of Great Britain. He was a faithful and affectionate husband and father, and a deeply religious man. He was firmly convinced of his duty to maintain, to the fullest extent, his God-given right as sovereign; yet for this purpose he was willing to stoop to the basest means, to deceit and treachery. He set himself in opposition to the great movement for developing and establishing English liberty, and he paid the tremendous penalty.

Execution of Charles I.

The High Court met and appointed the king's execution to take place next day, January 30th, between ten and five o'clock; but when it became necessary to sign the fatal order, it was with great difficulty the commissioners could be got together; in vain two or three of the most determined stood outside the door, stopped such of their colleagues as were passing by towards the House of Commons, and called upon them to come and affix their names.

Several even of those who had voted for the condemnation kept out of the way, or expressly refused to sign. Cromwell himself, gay, noisy, daring as ever, gave way to his usual coarse buffoonery. After having signed himself—he was the third to do so—he smeared with ink Henry Martyn's face who sat by him, and who immediately did the same to him. Colonel Ingoldsby, his cousin, who had been appointed a member of the court, but had never taken his seat, accidentally came into the hall: "This time," said Cromwell, "he shall not escape;" and, laughing aloud, he seized Ingoldsby, and with the assistance of a few other members, put the pen between his fingers, and guiding his hand, obliged him to sign. Fifty-nine signatures were at last collected; many, either from agitation or design, such mere scrawls that it was almost impossible to make them out. The order was addressed to Colonel Hacker, Colonel Huncks and Lieutenant Phayre, who were charged to see to the execution. Hitherto the ambassadors extraordinary from the States, Albert Joachim and Adrien Pauw, who had been five days in London, had vainly solicited an audience of Parliament; neither their official request, nor their private applications to Fairfax, Cromwell and some other officers, had obtained it for them. They were suddenly informed, about one o'clock, that they would be received at two by the Lords, at three by the Commons. They went immediately and delivered their message; an answer was promised them, and as they returned to their lodgings they saw commencing, in front of Whitehall, the preparations for the execution. They had received visits from the French and Spanish ambassadors, but neither would join in their proceedings. The first satisfied himself with protesting, that for a long time past he had foreseen this deplorable event, and done all in his power to avert it; the other said he had not yet received orders from his court to interfere in the matter, though he every hour expected them. Next day, the 30th, about twelve, a second interview with Fairfax, in the house of his secretary, gave the Dutch Ambassadors a gleam of hope. The general had been moved by their representations, and, seeming at length resolved to rouse himself from his inaction, promised to go immediately to Westminster to solicit at least a reprieve. But as they left him, before the very house in which they had conversed with him, they met a body of cavalry clearing the way; all the avenues to Whitehall, all the adjacent streets were equally filled with them; on all sides they heard it said that everything was ready and that the king would soon arrive.

And so it was. Early in the morning, in a room at Whitehall, beside the bed from which Ireton and Harrison had not yet risen, Cromwell, Hacker, Huncks, Axtell and Phayre had assembled to draw up the last act of this fearful proceeding, the order to the executioner. "Colonel," said Cromwell to Huncks, "it is you who must write and sign it." Huncks obstinately refused. "What a stubborn grumbler!" said Cromwell. "Colonel Huncks," said Axtell, "I am ashamed of you; the ship is now coming into the harbor and will you strike sail before we come to anchor?" Huncks persisted in his refusal; Cromwell, muttering between his teeth, sat down, wrote the order himself and presented it to Colonel Hacker, who signed it without objection.

Nearly at the same moment, after four hours' profound sleep, Charles left his bed. "I have a great work to do this day," he said to Herbert: "I must get up immediately;" and he sat down at his dressing-table. Herbert, in his agitation, combed his hair with less care than usual. "I pray you," said the king, "though my head be not long to remain on my shoulders, take the same pains with it as usual; let me be as trim to-day as may be; this is my second marriage day; for before night I hope to be espoused to my blessed Jesus." As he was dressing, he asked to have a shirt on more than ordinary. "The season is so sharp," he said, "as may make me shake, which some observers will imagine proceeds from fear. I would have no such imputation; I fear not death; death is not terrible to me. I bless my God I am prepared." At daybreak the bishop arrived and commenced the holy service; as he was reading, in the 27th chapter of the gospel according to St. Matthew, the passion of Jesus Christ, the king asked him: "My lord, did you choose this chapter as being applicable to my present condition?" "May it please your majesty," said the bishop, "it is the proper lesson for the day, as the calendar indicates." The king appeared deeply affected, and continued his prayers with even greater fervor. Towards ten a gentle knock was heard at the door; Herbert did not stir; a second knock was heard, rather louder, but still gentle. "Go and see who is there," said the king. It was Colonel Hacker. "Let him come in," said the king. "Sir," said the colonel, with a low and half-trembling voice, "it is time to go to Whitehall, but you will have some further time to rest there." "I will go directly," answered Charles; "leave me." Hacker went out. The king occupied a few moments more in mental prayer; then, taking the bishop by the hand; "Come," said he, "let us go.

Herbert, open the door, Hacker is knocking again;" and he went down into the park, through which he was to proceed to Whitehall.

Several companies of infantry were drawn up there, forming a double line on each side of his way; a detachment of halberdiers marched on before with banners flying; the drums beat; not a voice could be heard for the noise. On the right of the king was the bishop; on the left, uncovered, Colonel Tomlinson, the officer in command of the guard, whom Charles, touched by his attentions, had requested not to leave him until the last moment. He talked to him on his way of his funeral, of the persons to whom he wished the care of it to be entrusted, his countenance serene, his eye beaming, his step firm, walking even faster than the troops, and blaming their slowness. One of the officers on service, doubtless thinking to agitate him, asked him whether he had not concurred with the late duke of Buckingham in the death of the king, his father. "Friend," answered Charles, with gentle contempt, "if I had no other sin, I speak it with reverence to God's majesty, I assure thee I should never ask him pardon." Arrived at Whitehall he ascended the stairs with a light step, passed through the great gallery into his bed-room, where he was left alone with the bishop, who was preparing to administer the sacrament. Some Independent ministers, Nye and Goodwin among others, came and knocked at the door, saying that they wished to offer their services to the king. "The king is at prayers," answered Juxon: they still insisted. "Well, then," said Charles to the bishop, "thank them from me for the tender of themselves, but tell them plainly, that they, that so often causelessly prayed against me, shall not pray with me in this agony. They may, if they please, I'll thank them for it, pray for me." They retired; the king knelt, received the communion from the hands of the bishop, then rising with cheerfulness: "Now," said he, "let the rogues come; I have heartily forgiven them, and am prepared for all I am to undergo." His dinner had been prepared; he declined taking any. "Sire," said Juxon, "your majesty has long been fasting; it is cold; perhaps on the scaffold some faintness——" "You are right," said the king, and he took a piece of bread and a glass of wine. It was now one o'clock; Hacker knocked at the door; Juxon and Herbert fell on their knees: "Rise, my old friend," said Charles, holding out his hand to the bishop. Hacker knocked again; Charles ordered the door to be opened: "Go on," said he, "I follow you." He

advanced through the banqueting hall, still between a double rank of soldiers. A multitude of men and women, who had rushed in at the peril of their lives, stood motionless behind the guard, praying for the king as he passed, uninterrupted by the soldiers, themselves quite silent. At the extremity of the hall an opening made in the wall led straight upon the scaffold, which was hung with black; two men, dressed as sailors and masked, stood by the axe. The king stepped out, his head erect, and looking around for the people, to address them; but the troops occupied the whole space, so that none could approach: he turned towards Juxon and Tomlinson. "I cannot be heard by many but yourselves," he said, "therefore to you I will address a few words;" and he delivered to them a short speech which he had prepared, grave and calm, even to coldness, its sole purport being to show that he had acted right, that contempt of the rights of the sovereign was the true cause of the people's misfortunes, that the people ought to have no share in the government, that upon this condition alone would the country regain peace and its liberties. While he was speaking, some one touched the axe: he turned round hastily, saying: "Do not spoil the axe, it would hurt me more;" and again, as he was about to conclude his address, some one else again approaching it: "Take care of the axe, take care!" he repeated, in an agitated tone. The most profound silence prevailed. He put a silk cap upon his head, and addressing the executioner, said: "Is my hair in the way?" "I beg your majesty to put it under your cap," replied the man, bowing. The king, with the help of the bishop, did so. "I have on my side a good cause and a merciful God!" he said to his venerable servant. Juxon: "Yes, sire, there is but one stage more: it is full of trouble and anguish, but it is a very short one; and consider, it will carry you a great way; it will carry you from earth to heaven!" The king: "I go from a corruptible to an incorruptible crown, where I shall have no trouble to fear!" and turning towards the executioner: "Is my hair right?" He took off his cloak and George, and gave the George to Juxon, saying: "Remember!" He then took off his coat, put on his cloak again, and looking at the block, said to the executioner: "Place it so it may be firm." "It is firm, sir." The king: "I will say a short prayer, and when I hold out my hands, then . . ."

He stood in meditation, murmured a few words to himself, raised his eyes to heaven, knelt down, and laid his head upon the block; the executioner touched his hair to put it still further

under his cap; the king thought he was going to strike. "Wait for the signal," he said. "I shall wait for it, sir, with the good pleasure of your majesty." In a minute the king held out his hands; the executioner struck; the head fell at a blow. "This is the head of a traitor!" cried he, holding it up to the people. A long, deep groan arose from the multitude; many persons rushed to the scaffold to dip their handkerchiefs in the king's blood. Two troops of horse, advancing in different directions, slowly dispersed the crowd. The scaffold being cleared, the body was taken away; it was already enclosed in a coffin when Cromwell desired to see it; he looked at it attentively, and, raising the head, as if to make sure that it was indeed severed from the body, "This," he said, "was a well-constituted frame, and which promised a long life."

The coffin remained exposed for seven days at Whitehall; an immense concourse pressed round the door, but few obtained leave to go in. On the 6th of February, by order of the Commons, it was delived to Herbert and Mildmay, with authority to bury it in Windsor castle, in St. George's chapel, where Henry the Eighth lies. The procession was decent, though without pomp; six horses covered with black cloth drew the hearse; four coaches followed, two of which, also hung with black cloth, conveyed the king's latest servants, those who had followed him to the Isle of Wight. Next day, the 8th, with the consent of the Commons, the Duke of Richmond, the Marquis of Hertford, the Earls of Southampton and Lindsey, and Bishop Juxon, arrived at Windsor to assist at the funeral; they had engraved on the coffin these words only: "CHARLES, REX, 1648."

As they were removing the body from the interior of the castle to the chapel, the weather, hitherto clear and serene, changed all at once: snow fell in abundance; it entirely covered the black velvet pall, and the king's servants, with a melancholy satisfaction, viewed in this sudden whiteness of their unhappy master's coffin, a symbol of his innocence. On the arrival of the procession at the place selected for sepulture, Bishop Juxon was preparing to officiate according to the rites of the English church, but Whychcott, the governor of the castle, would not permit this: "The liturgy decreed by Parliament," he said, "is obligatory for the king as for all." They submitted; no religious ceremony took place, and the coffin being lowered into the vault, all left the chapel, and the governor closed the door. The House of Commons called for an account of the expense of the obsequies, and

allowed five hundred pounds to pay for them. On the day of the king's death, before any express had left London, they published an ordinance, declaring whosoever should proclaim in his stead and as his successor "Charles Stuart, his son, commonly called Prince of Wales, or any other person whatsoever, a traitor." On the 6th of February, after a long discussion, and notwithstanding a division of twenty-nine to forty-four, the House of Lords was solemnly abolished. Finally, the next day, the 7th, a decree was adopted, running thus: "It hath been found by experience, and this house doth declare, that the office of a king in this nation, and to have the power thereof in any single person, is unnecessary, burthensome, and dangerous to the liberty, safety, and public interest of the people of this nation, and therefore ought to be abolished;" and a new great seal was engraved, bearing on one side a map of England and Ireland, with the arms of the two countries; and on the reverse a representation of the House of Commons sitting, with this inscription, suggested by Henry Martyn: "The first year of liberty restored by the blessing of God, 1648."—F. GUIZOT.

SIR HENRY VANE.

ONE Governor of the Colony of Massachusetts perished on the scaffold, not because he was a tyrant or oppressor, but because he was an asserter of liberty. Henry Vane was the son of Sir Henry Vane, secretary of state and comptroller of the household of Charles I. He was educated at Westminster School, London, and Magdalen College, Oxford, but took no degree, having renounced the Church of England. His father intended him for the diplomatic service and sent him to travel on the Continent of Europe. In his travels he visited Geneva, then a centre of religious ferment, and returned to England a Puritan and a Republican.

Young Vane determined to cast in his lot with the colonists of Massachusetts, and sailed for Boston in 1635. He was well received on account of his social position and his already high reputation. Before he had completed his twenty-fourth year he was elected Governor. His administration was brief and stormy. His sudden popularity had raised prejudices in the minds of men who had no means of calling forth such enthusiasm. At his election a salute was fired by fifteen large vessels, at that time lying at anchor in the harbor. A few days later a deputation of leading men waited on Governor Vane to remind him that the mere presence of such a large number of foreign vessels in the port was formidable and threatening in the feeble condition of the settlement.

Vane readily admitted that there was justice in their caution, and at once gave an instance of his tact and skill in managing men. He invited the captains of all the vessels in port to dinner, discussed the situation freely and candidly with his guests and laid before them his proposal. The conversation that ensued was frank and friendly, and the result was that the captains readily assented to the agreement, which ran thus: "First, that all inward-bound vessels should anchor below the port and wait for the Governor's pass; secondly, that before discharging their cargoes they should submit their invoices to the government; thirdly, that none of their crews should be permitted to remain on shore, except under urgent necessity."

The next act of Vane's administration is important as furnishing the first occasion of active opposition to the young Governor. The mate of the British vessel "Hector" had declared the colonists traitors and rebels, because he did not see the king's flag flying at the port. The excitement of the townsmen against the mate became so violent that Vane sent for the captain of the ship and dispatched a marshal and other officers to arrest the mate. The crew refused to surrender their officer without the captain's order. The captain had therefore to march along with the marshal. The mate was surrendered and ample apology made to the civil authorities. The king's colors bore the cross and were therefore regarded as idolatrous by the more rigid Puritans. There was much discussion; much ill-feeling was engendered: but finally Vane, acting upon his authority as Governor, and supported by only one magistrate, placed the king's flag on the fort, protesting at the same time against idolatry.

A fierce religious controversy was provoked by Mrs. Anne Hutchinson, who, on her arrival from England, had become a member of the Boston Church. She was a woman of keen perception, subtilty of reasoning and a gifted leader of devotional exercises. She criticised the discourses of the ministers and the soundness of their doctrines. She soon had arrayed against her all magistrates, ministers and leading men of the Colony. Instead of proceeding against her as a calumniator and disturber of the peace, they declared her a

COPYRIGHT 1899, ART LIBRARY PUBLISHING CO, J.B. MILLET PROPRIETOR, BOSTON.

SIR HARRY VANE.

FROM THE STATUE BY MAC MONNIES.

heretic. At this point Vane interfered as the defender of the rights of conscience. Fierce religious animosity arose. Vane was the champion of "universal toleration of sects and opinions." He pointed out to them that those who, in a large society, had contended for the rights of conscience, should not, upon any pretext, in a society however small, turn against others and violate their rights of conscience.

As the contest proceeded, the colony split into two factions, led by Winthrop and Vane. The Winthrop party prevailed, Mrs. Hutchinson was banished. The religious strife she had kindled, her persecution and tragic end, make her a heroine of early American history. At the next annual election of Governor, Winthrop was chosen Governor. The people of Boston, however, were still unshaken in their devotion to Vane, and elected him and some of his warmest supporters to represent them in the General Court. The Winthrop party declared the election void. The people of Boston, indignant at this outrage, by a new election returned the same men to the House next day.

Among the events of Vane's administration may be mentioned the influence he exerted during the Pequot war to prevent the Indians from joining in hostilities against the English. On one occasion he invited twenty-four representative red men to Boston, and received them with every mark of courtesy and attention. They dined at the same table with himself, and after a long and friendly conference, readily agreed to a treaty of peace and amity with the English.

Toward the close of Vane's term, the General Court passed an order making it "free and lawful for all freemen to send their votes for election by proxy to the next General Court in May, and so for thereafter." At the same court a military organization was matured, which required all militia men in the jurisdiction to be ranked into three regiments, according to a division which afterwards became the basis of counties.

Winthrop, supported by the most powerful forces of the Colony, continued to hold his ground, and Vane, baffled in his best hopes and purposes, determined to return to England. He was accompanied to the vessel's side by a large concourse of Boston citizens, who showed him every mark of affection

and esteem. A parting salute was fired from the town and one from the castle. His name as years went on became more endeared to the people.

On Vane's return to England in 1637, he was elected to the Short Parliament, and took a prominent place as leader of the Independents. In order that his services might be secured to the Royal party, he was made joint-treasurer of the Navy with Sir William Russell, and received the honor of knighthood. In 1640 he was elected to the Long Parliament and stood in the foremost rank in all its doings. He is said to have found by accident among his father's papers certain notes of Strafford's advice to the king, counselling the use of force, and to have handed them to Pym. These notes formed the chief evidence in the impeachment of Strafford. In the impeachment of Archbishop Laud he was also a principal actor. He was a warm advocate of the Root and Branch Bill, and in 1641 formulated a scheme of government affecting ecclesiastical jurisdiction in the different dioceses.

When the Civil War broke out, Vane resigned his office as treasurer of the navy, but was immediately reinstated by the parliamentary party. Upon this he gave proof of the disinterestedness of his services by surrendering the lucrative emoluments of his office, with the exception of the small salary to be paid to a deputy. In 1643 he was one of the commissioners to negotiate a treaty with the Scots, whose great aim was to obtain a "Covenant for establishing Presbyterian Church discipline in England and Wales." The English insisted on a "league." Vane hit on a compromise by denominating the bond the "Solemn League and Covenant," and by the substitution of a happy phrase in one of its provisos, was successful in having it thus adopted.

Vane went hand in hand with Cromwell in all matters pertaining to right and justice, and supported him in the Self-denying Ordinance; but broke with the Protector, for the first time, on the subject of the forcible removal of members of parliament, known in history as Col. Pride's "Purge." After this rupture Vane retired to Raby castle, his estate in Durham, until after the king's execution, an act which he condemned. On his return to London in 1649 he became a member of the

Council of State, and chairman of a committee to consider the mode of elections of future parliaments.

Vane recognized the Commonwealth only so far as he considered it "consonant to the principles which have given rise to the law and the monarchy itself in England," and regarded Parliament the supreme authority in a state, as long as it conformed to the ancient laws whether there were a king at the head of it or not. He was ever the advocate of pure parliamentary government, and wished to extend the franchise in cities and large towns and curtail it in the case of corrupt or "pocket" boroughs. England owes her first assured supremacy on the sea to Vane's exertions when he was at the head of the commission for managing the army and navy.

In 1656 Vane issued a pamphlet called "A Healing Question," which proposed a new form of government in which Parliament should have supreme control of the army. This so annoyed and alarmed Cromwell, who advocated the supremacy of the army, that he had the author imprisoned in Carisbrook Castle. On his release after four months, he was again returned to Parliament as member for Whitechurch.

On the death of Cromwell, in 1658, Vane became the acknowledged head of the Republican party. His efforts to mould the Commonwealth to his ideas of government were fruitless. He was a member of the committee of safety, and president of the Council of State when the Long Parliament was revived for a short time in 1659. His contempt for Richard Cromwell is well known. He insisted that before the son should be acknowledged Protector, the limitations of his power should be settled, as also the rights of parliament and the subject.

On the restoration of monarchy, Vane was committed to the Tower by the King's orders. Many conferences of both houses of Parliament were held with regard to his case. During these conferences he was removed from one prison to another, and finally placed in a castle in the Scilly Isles. While in captivity he wrote "People's Case Stated," and occupied himself in other political and religious works. His theological writings are pitched in a key of mysticism too high to be intelligible to the ordinary reader. Sir James Mackintosh said,

"Henry Vane was one of the most profound minds that ever existed, not inferior, perhaps, to Bacon. His works display astonishing power, and are remarkable as containing the first direct assertion of the liberty of conscience."

On June 2, 1662, Vane was arraigned before the court of king's bench on a charge of high treason. At his trial a great lack of justice was manifested; he was refused the aid of counsel, and was not allowed to see the indictment before it was read, and although he pleaded his cause with courage and ability, it was all to no purpose. Charles had determined upon his death, and notwithstanding a promise previously given that the prisoner's life should be spared wrote to Clarendon that Vane was "too dangerous a man to let live, if we can honestly put him out of the way."

Sir Henry Vane was beheaded on Tower Hill, June 14, 1662, and died as manfully as he had lived. Perhaps there could be no better commendation of the manner in which he died than that which is conveyed by the involuntary exclamation of a zealous royalist from the crowd before the scaffold:—"He dies like a prince." Vane's death marked the end of a stage of English liberty which commenced and closed in blood. Strafford was the first victim of the incensed spirit of liberty triumphantly entering upon the possession of the government; Vane was the last great sacrifice offered up to the vengeance of despotism triumphantly restored.

CHARLES II. OF ENGLAND.

CHARLES II. of England was one of the most worthless rascals that ever sat upon a throne. To the insincerity of his father he added open debauchery, and became a pensioner of France. Yet for twenty-five years this insolent huckster retained the crown, and died in peaceful possession of it. During this disgraceful reign Parliament was most subservient to the king, but its power was not suspended. Important modifications of the government took place, which, having proved beneficial to the people, have been retained as part of the British Constitution.

Charles II. was born May 29, 1630. Though the second son of Charles I., he was Prince of Wales from his birth, the eldest son having lived but a day or two. When but twelve years old, Prince Charles was appointed by his father commander of a troop of horse which he had raised as a body-guard at York. In 1645 he was made general and sent to serve with the royal troops in the West. After the battle of Naseby the Prince retired to Jersey, and in September, 1646, he joined his mother in Paris. He was residing at the Hague when he received the news of the execution of his father. He immediately assumed the title of king, and was proclaimed at Edinburgh by the Scotch government. Charles had tried to avoid committing himself to the Presbyterians, but yielded to their demands. He landed in Scotland in June, 1650, and was crowned king at Scone on January 1, 1651. He signed

the Solemn League and Covenant, and secretly tried also to raise a force among the Highlanders. When Leslie was defeated at Dunbar, Charles marched into England, hoping to rouse the loyalty of the people. The royalist forces were routed by Cromwell at Worcester in September, but the fugitive Charles escaped through the fidelity of a few friends. Embarking at Shoreham, he crossed the channel, and went to Paris. Here he remained until the peace of 1655 compelled him to leave France. Receiving a pension from Louis XIV., he removed to Bruges, where he held a little court, chiefly composed of gay young libertines and disreputable women.

But while this graceless king was wasting his time in folly, events in England were working to his advantage. Oliver Cromwell died in September, 1658, and his son Richard proved incapable of retaining the power which had devolved on him. General George Monk marched from Scotland, resolved to restore the careless king. No resistance was offered to the general, who entered London amid popular rejoicing. Instead of a Parliament, Monk summoned a Convention of leading men. By its order a squadron of gaily-decked vessels was sent across the German Ocean to bring back the exiled Stuart. A conciliatory declaration published by Charles at Breda heightened the satisfaction of the English people. The king's progress from the coast to the capital was a triumph attended with every demonstration of joy. Such was the rapture of loyalty that Charles, whose wit was keen, observed to one of his company, that for the life of him he could not see why he had stayed away so long, when everybody was so charmed that he was come back. Charles entered London amid loud acclamations and universal festivity on his thirtieth birthday, May 29, 1660.

The new king's character was little known to his subjects. He had profited nothing by the adversities of his youth. But his good nature and love of pleasure, his lively ways and witty remarks, his pleasant face and the charm of his manners, soon made him very popular. The merry monarch surrounded himself with a gay, reckless, merry-making court. The severe Puritans retired from public office. The dignified statesmen who had attended on Charles I., and lost their fortunes in his

cause, found themselves ill at ease amid the dissipations of the new regime. The reaction from Puritanism appeared not only in the revival of the theatre and the introduction of licentious plays, but in the bitter persecution of those who adhered to the Puritan faith. The Convention was continued as a Parliament, and it gratified the king by punishing those who had been concerned in the condemnation of his father. Though his own royal word had been given for the amnesty of past offences, thirteen regicides were hanged, drawn and quartered, and the rest, except a few who escaped, were imprisoned for life. An act of indemnity was passed, granting pardon to all who had fought against the king's troops in the Civil War, except Sir Harry Vane and General Lambert. The same Parliament granted to the king a yearly revenue of £1,200,000; but this splendid sum was to take the place of the old military tenures, feudal dues and purveyances, which had been used as instruments of oppression in foreign reigns. The army by which the Restoration had been effected was disbanded; but Charles, not feeling secure, kept a body of 5,000 horse and foot soldiers. This was the nucleus of the standing army.

Charles had solemnly promised that all religious sects should be allowed to worship God according to the dictates of their own consciences. But Edward Hyde, who had been made Earl of Clarendon and Prime Minister, had an excessive zeal for Episcopacy, in which the Convention Parliament shared. The Act of Uniformity, passed in 1662, permitted no clergyman to hold a living unless he were ordained by a bishop and used a prayer-book. By this act two thousand Presbyterian ministers were ejected. Again, under the Conventicle Act of 1664, none were allowed to worship in assemblies, even in private houses. Under the Five Mile Act of 1665 Dissenting ministers were forbidden to teach in schools or to approach within five miles of a town. The saintly moderate, Richard Baxter, who had trusted in the friendliness of the king, was driven from his home, and the pious John Bunyan was sent to Bedford jail to dream the Pilgrim's Progress.

On May 20, 1662, Charles was married to Catharine of

Braganza, daughter of John IV. of Portugal. She brought a dowry of £500,000, Bombay in India, and Tangiers in Africa. The English people felt their first shock of reaction at the king's marriage to a Roman Catholic, even though she was a virtuous and amiable princess. The selfish, pleasure-loving king soon outraged her feelings by presenting to her his avowed mistress. The poor queen fainted and blood gushed from her nose. The fawning Clarendon persuaded the royal victim to submit to the insult, but her spirit was henceforth utterly broken. The unblushing licentiousness of the court was a scandal to the world. Its excessive extravagance went far beyond the liberal allowance of the Parliament. But it was soon known that the king was in the pay of France. The city of Dunkirk, which the English had come to regard as compensation for the loss of Calais, was sold to Louis XIV. for £200,000. So loud and violent was the talk in the London coffee-houses about the king's shameful conduct, that some of these new resorts were ordered to be closed. Severe laws continued to be passed against both the Puritans and the Catholics. It was at this time that those Protestants who did not conform to that church began to be called Dissenters. The king, while willing that Dissenters should be persecuted, showed strong leaning toward the Roman Catholics. Yet he never went in direct opposition to Parliament, as his father had done. He yielded when the Commons stood firm, got as much money from them as he could, and spent it on his ignoble pleasures.

In 1664 Charles made war upon the Dutch, but the result was disastrous and disgraceful to England. The Dutch fleet sailed up the Medway, and burned the English war-ships moored at Chatham. This roused popular indignation against the king. A Parliamentary investigation showed that money granted for the navy had been squandered on the court. Parliament therefore put some restrictions on the grant of supplies. During the Dutch war two terrible calamities visited London. The first was the Plague of 1665, which lasted for six months and destroyed 100,000 lives. Hardly had it ceased its awful ravages when the Great Fire broke out in the centre of the city. It consumed two-thirds of the

city, from the Tower to the Strand, destroying St. Paul's church, the Royal Exchange, other stately buildings, and hundreds of dwellings. It burned furiously for three days and nights, but lingered for weeks. It swept over the filthy districts in which the plague had been bred and nourished. After the fire the streets were laid out anew, and overcrowding of houses prevented. In the acrimonious disputes about religion the fire was attributed to the Catholics, and the Monument erected to commemorate the calamity long bore an inscription stating this as a fact. The inscription was removed in 1850. As London had shown a spirit of independence, its charter was revoked on a pretext, but was eventually restored in 1690.

The Dutch war was concluded by the treaty of Breda, July 31, 1667. It was followed by the dismissal of Clarendon, through the intrigues of the king's mistress, which made the people hold him responsible for the disgrace of the war. He was impeached, but fled to France and died in exile. The next seven years form the period of the Cabal ministry, so called from the initials of its members—Clifford, Ashley, Buckingham, Arlington, Lauderdale. To this band of political schemers is traced the origin of the present cabinet, as part of the British political system. In 1672 Parliament passed the Declaration of Indulgence, suspending all laws against Catholics and Dissenters, but the measure was considered too sweeping, and in 1673 the Test and Corporation Acts took its place. By these laws no one could hold an office in a city or town, or in the civil service, army or navy, or be a professor or student in a university without taking the sacrament of the Lord's Supper according to the forms of the Church of England. Its first effect was to break up the Cabal ministry. The Earl of Danby, who was popular with the Commons, succeeded as prime minister.

All the important events of the reign of Charles II. were affected by religious dissensions. So far as the king had any religion, he was a Catholic, but he concealed his belief. His brother James, Duke of York, was the next heir to the throne, as Charles had no legitimate children. Both Churchmen and Dissenters sought to have James excluded from the succes-

sion, but Charles supported his brother's right. It was in connection with this dispute that the party names Whig and and Tory arose. One party maintained certain rights of the people as superior to the king's will. Hence their opponents reproached them as Whigs, or Whiggamores, meaning rebellious Covenanters of the southwest of Scotland. On the other hand the supporters of the divine right of Kings were called Tories from the rude Irish soldiers employed by king Charles I. in his war against Parliament. In course of time each party accepted these names, originally bestowed in opprobrium. In 1678, in the midst of the contention, a wretched fellow named Titus Oates threw London into a panic by the pretended discovery of a "Popish plot" to burn the city, massacre the Protestants and seize the royal power. Color was lent to the horrible charge by the fact that Sir Edmondsbury Godfrey, a Protestant magistrate, was mysteriously murdered. Forthwith several Jesuits and other Catholics were hurried to death after a brief trial. The king calmly signed the death-warrants of men whom he must have believed to be martyrs. Oates was pensioned, and for a time resided at Whitehall.

The effort to have James excluded from the throne failed when Parliament was dissolved in 1679. But the Whigs had succeeded in compelling the king's assent to the Habeas Corpus Act, which secures to every one arrested a speedy trial. It did away with the practice of the Stuart kings of detaining those who offended them without bringing them to trial. Yet after this victory the influence of the Whigs waned. The people were ashamed of their own credulity in regard to the infamous Oates and the "Popish plot."

Although Charles supported his brother's claim to the succession, he showed singular affection for the Duke of Monmouth, his own son by Lucy Walters. He treated him as a legitimate prince, and permitted him to wear the royal arms without the bar sinister. Hence the duke was regarded by many as the rightful heir to the throne. He made progresses through the kingdom, on which he was welcomed as the Protestant prince. Yet after a time the king was offended at these pretensions, and in 1682 banished the Duke to Hol-

land. In the next year the Rye House plot, which aimed at murdering both Charles and James and putting the duke on the throne, was exposed. Though the plot was formed only by obscure persons, yet Lord William Russell and Algernon Sidney were beheaded for alleged complicity. The Duke of Monmouth was not molested. The Duke of York, who had been excluded by the Test Act from the ministry, was now openly associated with the king in the administration of public affairs. In England arbitrary government was almost unchecked, while abroad the nation had lost all influence.

In February, 1685, while the ministry were discussing the calling of a Parliament, and the court was engaged in frivolous diversion, the king was suddenly struck with apoplexy. When it became evident that he was dying, the Duke of York brought to him the priest, Father Huddlestone, who heard his confession and administered extreme unction. He died February 6, 1685.

Charles II. had good natural abilities and an amiable temperament. Though he was trained in the school of adversity, he had learned only to seek his own pleasure and to distrust all appearance of virtue. He knew the worthlessness of his favorites, and through indolence was their slave, but not their dupe. His political course was not directed by conviction and principle as was his father's, but was for selfish ends. In general he was devoid of revenge as of gratitude. He spared Richard Cromwell and John Milton, whom he called "an old blind schoolmaster." Charles deserves some credit for his interest in the arts and sciences. Under his patronage was founded, in 1662, the Royal Society, which has become one of the greatest scientific bodies in the world. The Royal Observatory at Greenwich also dates its origin from his reign. In spite of the great defects of his character and the shameful disgrace of his government, his affability preserved his popularity. He had no children by his queen, but he had a dozen by various mistresses, of whom the most noted was Nell Gwynn. Many of his children were ennobled, and their descendants are enrolled in the peerage.

The Great Fire of London.

(From Evelyn's Diary.)

2 Sept., 1666. This fatal night, about ten, began that deplorable fire near Fish street, in London.

3. I had public prayers at home. The fire continuing, after dinner I took coach with my wife and son and went to the bank side in Southwark, where we beheld the dismal spectacle, the whole city in dreadful flames near the water side; all the houses from the bridge, all Thames street and upwards towards Cheapside, down to the Three Cranes, were now consumed: and so returned exceedingly astonished what would become of the rest.

The fire having continued all this night (if I may call that night which was light as day for ten miles round about, after a dreadful manner) when conspiring with a fierce eastern wind in a very dry season; I went on foot to the same place, and saw the whole south part of the city burning from Cheapside to the Thames, and all along Cornhill (for it likewise kindled back against the wind as well as forward), Tower street, Fenchurch street, Gracious street, and so along to Baynard's Castle, and was now taking hold of St. Paul's Church, to which the scaffolds contributed exceedingly. The conflagration was so universal and the people so astonished, that from the beginning, I know not by what despondency or fate, they hardly stirred to quench it, so that there was nothing heard or seen but crying out and lamentation, running about like distracted creatures, without at all attempting to save even their goods; such a strange consternation there was upon them; so as it burned both in breadth and length, the churches, public-halls, Exchange, hospitals, monuments and ornaments, leaping after a prodigious manner from house to house and street to street, at great distances one from the other; for the heat with a long set of fair and warm weather had even ignited the air and prepared the materials to conceive the fire, which devoured after an incredible manner houses, furniture and everything. Here we saw the Thames covered with goods floating, all the barges and boats laden with what some had time and courage to save, as, on the other, the carts, etc., carrying out to the fields, which for many miles were strewn with moveables of all sorts, and tents erecting to shelter both people and what goods they could get away. Oh the miserable and calamitous spectacle! such as happily the world had not seen the

like since the foundation of it, nor be outdone till the universal conflagration of it. All the sky was of a fiery aspect, like the top of a burning oven, and the light seen for above 40 miles round about for many nights. God grant mine eyes may never behold the like, who now saw above 10,000 houses all in one flame; the noise and cracking and thunder of the impetuous flames, the shrieking of women and children, the hurry of people, the fall of towers, houses and churches, was like an hideous storm, and the air all about so hot and inflamed that at the last one was not able to approach it, so that they were forced to stand still and let the flames burn on, which they did for near two miles in length and one in breadth. The clouds also of smoke were dismal and reached upon computation near 56 miles in length. Thus I left it this afternoon burning, a resemblance of Sodom, or the last day. It forcibly called to my mind that passage—*non enim hic habemus stabilem civitatem.* [Here we have no abiding city.] The ruins resembling the picture of Troy. London was, but is no more! Thus I returned home.

Sept. 4. The burning still rages, and it was now gotten as far as the Inner Temple; all Fleet street, the Old Bailey, Ludgate-hill, Warwick-lane, Newgate, Paul's Chain, Watling street, now flaming, and most of it reduced to ashes; the stones of Paul's flew like granados, the melting lead running down the streets in a stream, and the very pavements glowing with fiery redness, so as no horse nor man was able to tread on them, and the demolition had stopped all the passages, so that no help could be applied. The eastern wind still more impetuously driving the flames forward. Nothing but the almighty power of God was able to stop them, for vain was the help of man.

5. It crossed towards Whitehall; but oh, the confusion there was then at that Court! It pleased his Majesty to command me among the rest to look after the quenching of Fetter lane end, to preserve if possible that part of Holborn whilst the rest of the gentlemen took their several posts, some at one part, some at another (for now they began to bestir themselves, and not till now, who hitherto had stood as men intoxicated, with their hands across) and began to consider that nothing was likely to put a stop but the blowing up of so many houses as would make a wider gap than any had yet been made by the ordinary method of pulling them down with engines; this some stout seamen proposed early enough to have saved nearly the whole city, but this some tenacious and avaricious men, aldermen, etc., would not

permit, because their houses must have been of the first. It was therefore now commanded to be practised, and my concern being particularly for the hospital of St. Bartholomew near Smithfield, where I had my wounded and sick men, made me the more diligent to promote it; nor was my care for the Savoy less. It now pleased God by abating the wind, and by the industry of the people, when almost all was lost, infusing a new spirit into them, that the fury of it began sensibly to abate about noon, so as it came no farther than the Temple westward, nor than the entrance of Smithfield north; but continued all this day and night so impetuous towards Cripplegate and the Tower as made us all despair; it also broke out again in the Temple, but the courage of the multitude persisting, and many houses being blown up, such gaps and desolations were soon made, as with the former three days' consumption, the back fire did not so vehemently urge upon the rest as formerly. There was yet no standing near the burning and glowing ruins by near a furlong's space.

The coal and wood wharfs and magazines of oil, rosin, etc., did infinite mischief, so as the invective which a little before I had dedicated to his Majesty and published,* giving warning what might probably be the issue of suffering those shops to be in the city, was looked on as a prophecy.

The poor inhabitants were dispersed about St. George's Fields, and Moorfields, as far as Highgate, and several miles in circle, some under tents, some under miserable huts and hovels, many without a rag or any necessary utensils, bed or board, who from delicateness, riches, and easy accommodations in stately and well furnished houses, were now reduced to extremest misery and poverty.

In this calamitous condition I returned with a sad heart to my houses, blessing and adoring the distinguishing mercy of God to me and mine, who in the midst of all this ruin was like Lot, in my little Zoar, safe and sound.

6. Thursday. I represented to his Majesty the case of the French prisoners at war in my custody, and besought him that there might be still the same care of watching at all places contiguous to unseized houses. It is not indeed imaginable how extraordinary the vigilance and activity of the king and the duke was, even laboring in person, and being present to command, order, reward, or encourage workmen, by which he showed his

* The Fumifugium.

affection to his people and gained theirs. Having then disposed of some under cure at the Savoy, I returned to Whitehall, where I dined at Mr. Offley's, the groom porter, who was my relation.

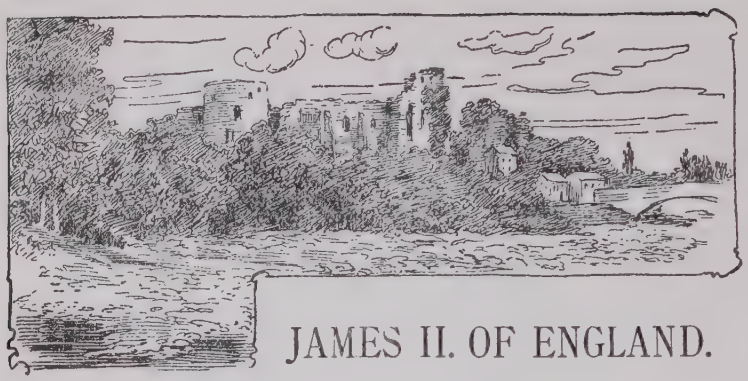
Sept. 7. I went this morning on foot from Whitehall as far as London Bridge, through the late Fleet Street, Ludgate Hill, by St. Paul's, Cheapside, Exchange, Bishopsgate, Aldersgate, and out to Moorfields, thence through Cornhill, &c., with extraordinary difficulty, clambering over heaps of yet smoking rubbish, and frequently mistaking where I was. The ground under my feet was so hot, that it even burnt the soles of my shoes. In the meantime his majesty got to the Tower by water, to demolish the houses about the graff, which being built entirely about it, had they taken fire and attacked the White Tower where the magazine of powder lay, would undoubtedly not only have beaten down and destroyed all the bridge, but sunk and torn the vessels in the river, and rendered the demolition beyond all expression for several miles about the country.

At my return I was infinitely concerned to find that goodly church St. Paul's now a sad ruin, and that beautiful portico (for structure comparable to any in Europe, as not long before repaired by the late king) now rent in pieces, flakes of vast stone split asunder, and nothing remaining entire but the inscription in the architrave, showing by whom it was built, which had not one letter of it defaced. It was astonishing to see what immense stones the heat had in a manner calcined, so that all the ornaments, columns, friezes, capitals, and projectures of massy Portland stone flew off, even to the very roof, where a sheet of lead covering a great space (no less than 6 acres by measure) was totally melted; the ruins of the vaulted roof falling broke into St. Faith's, which, being filled with the magazines of books belonging to the Stationers, and carried thither for safety, they were all consumed, burning for a week following. It is also observable that the lead over the altar at the east end was untouched, and among the divers monuments, the body of one bishop remained entire. Thus lay in ashes that most venerable church, one of the most ancient pieces of early piety in the Christian world, besides near 100 more. The lead, iron work, bells, plate, &c., melted; the exquisitely wrought Mercer's Chapel, the sumptuous Exchange, the august fabric of Christ Church, all the rest of the Companies' halls, splendid buildings, arches, enteries, all in dust; the fountains dried up and ruined, whilst the very waters remained boiling; the voragos of subterranean cellars, well and dungeons,

formerly warehouses, still burning in stench and dark clouds of smoke, so that in five or six miles traversing about, I did not see one load of timber unconsumed, nor many stones but what were calcined white as snow. The people who now walked about the ruins appeared like men in some dismal desert, or rather in some great city laid waste by a cruel enemy; to which was added the stench that came from some poor creatures' bodies, beds, and other combustible goods. Sir Thomas Gresham's statue, though fallen from its niche in the Royal Exchange, remained entire, when all those of the kings since the Conquest were broken to pieces; also the standard in Cornhill, and Q. Elizabeth's effigies, with some arms on Ludgate, continued with but little detriment, whilst the vast iron chains of the City streets, hinges, bars and gates of prisons were many of them melted and reduced to cinders, by the vehement heat. Nor was I yet able to pass through any of the narrower streets, but kept the widest; the ground and air, smoke and fiery vapor continued so intense that my hair was almost singed and my feet unsufferably surbated. The by-lanes and narrower streets were quite filled up with rubbish, nor could one have possibly known where he was, but by the ruins of some church or hall that had some remarkable tower or pinnacle remaining. I then went towards Islington and Highgate, where one might have seen 200,000 people of all ranks and degrees dispersed and lying along by the heaps of what they could save from the fire, deploring their loss, and though ready to perish for hunger and destitution, yet not asking one penny for relief, which to me appeared a stranger sight than any I had yet beheld. His Majesty and council indeed took all imaginable care for their relief by proclamation for the country to come in and refresh them with provisions.

In the midst of all this calamity and confusion there was, I know not how, an alarm begun that the French and Dutch, with whom we were now in hostility, were not only landed, but even entering the city. There was in truth some days before great suspicion of those two nations joining; and now, that they had been the occasion of firing the town, this report did so terrify that on a sudden there was such an uproar and tumult that they ran from their goods, and taking what weapons they could come at, they could not be stopped from falling on some of those nations whom they casually met, without sense or reason. The clamor and peril grew so excessive that it made the whole court amazed, and they did with infinite pains and great difficulty reduce and

appease the people, sending troops of soldiers and guards to cause them to retire into the fields again, where they were watched all this night. I left them pretty quiet, and came home sufficiently weary and broken. Their spirits thus a little calmed, and the affright abated, they now began to repair into the suburbs about the city, where such as had friends or opportunity got shelter for the present, to which his Majesty's proclamation also invited them.—JOHN EVELYN.



JAMES II. OF ENGLAND.

BY the Act of Settlement passed in 1701, Roman Catholics are excluded from succession to the throne of England. James II. was the last king of that faith, and the difficulties of his reign furnished the occasion for the passage of the act. His imprudent zeal to advance the cause of his church roused the nation from its quiet acquiescence in his succession. The misfortunes of his father had no effect in teaching him to avoid wounding the religious sensibilities of the English people; rather he seemed determined to offend them still more, but whereas his father paid the penalty of his obstinacy with his life, James was simply bereft of his crown.

James II. was the second surviving son of Charles I. and Henrietta Maria. He was born at the palace of St. James, October 15, 1633. Before he was ten years old he was made Duke of York. The Civil War broke out when he was nine years old. He witnessed the battle of Edgehill, and was present at the siege of Bristol in 1643. When Oxford was taken by Lord Fairfax in 1646, James became a prisoner, but he was well treated and allowed frequent interviews with his father. With his brother and sister he lived at St. James's, under the guardianship of the Earl of Northumberland, until in 1648 James escaped to Holland, whence he went to Paris a year later. He had military service in the French army under Turenne, residing in France till 1655, when the relations between France and Cromwell became close. James then entered the Spanish service. He virtually became a

Catholic during his exile, but did not avow the change for many years.

At the restoration of his brother Charles in 1660, James returned to England. In September he was married secretly to Anne Hyde, daughter of the Earl of Clarendon. James was appointed by his brother Lord High Admiral and Lord Warden of the Cinque Ports. He was industrious and methodical. In the war with the Dutch he won a victory in 1665, but some years later his contest with DeRuyter ended in a drawn battle.

After his wife's death in 1671, James openly avowed his conversion to Catholicism in spite of his brother's expostulations. He next married the Catholic princess Mary Beatrice Eleanore of Modena, who was then but sixteen years of age. The Parliament was sufficiently aroused to pass the Test Act to exclude Catholics from power. For a time the Duke was debarred from the office of Admiral and was even obliged to go abroad. Yet the duty of obeying the legitimate sovereign was so impressed on the political leaders that James quietly succeeded to the throne on the death of Charles in February, 1685, and was crowned on April 23. The ritual of the coronation was abridged by dropping some parts offensive to a Catholic conscience, and the public procession was omitted on the plea of economy. The Mass had already been publicly celebrated, and preaching against Catholicism was prohibited. The people and even the clergy submitted, though with reluctance, to the changes. The Duke of Monmouth, a natural son of Charles, had been regarded by some as legitimate, and was called "the Protestant Duke." The Earl of Argyle incited him to cross from Holland to England and make an attempt for the throne. Argyle himself went to Scotland and raised a small army, but was soon defeated and executed at Edinburgh. When Monmouth landed at Lyme with about eighty soldiers, James was able to send against them a considerable force, including Dutch soldiers lent by William of Orange. The country people flocked to Monmouth's standard, and he wasted time in drilling them instead of marching to Exeter. His followers were defeated at Sedgemoor, and he, being taken prisoner, was beheaded as a traitor. To stamp

out the rebellion Judge Jeffreys was sent on "the Bloody Assize," whose cruelties filled England with horror. Jeffreys was rewarded with a peerage.

James persisted in his efforts to put Roman Catholics in places of honor and power. An army was encamped on Hounslow Heath, chiefly officered by Catholics. Monasteries and Catholic schools were rapidly increased, and efforts were rapidly made to put the universities under Catholic control. To secure the favor of the Dissenters James issued a Declaration of Indulgence, and suspended all penal laws in regard to religion. The declaration was ordered to be read in all the churches, but Archbishop Sancroft and six bishops presented a petition asking to be excused from reading it. The king ordered them to be committed to the Tower. As they passed down the river the people knelt and asked their blessing. When they were brought to trial the same scene was presented, and when they were acquitted there was public rejoicing.

In June, 1688, a son was born to the king, but so inflamed was the public mind with the disputes about religion, that it was widely believed that a supposititious child had been foisted into the family to prevent the Protestant daughters, Mary and Anne, from succeeding to the throne. Mary had been married to William, Prince of Orange, and Anne to Prince George of Denmark. Leading statesmen, who knew the child to be legitimate, were alarmed at the prospect of Catholicism being again established in England. They opened negotiations with the Prince of Orange, who was invited to maintain the Protestant religion by invading the country. When James learned of the movement he endeavored to retract some of his most offensive acts, but could not overcome the general distrust.

On November 5, 1688, William landed at Torbay, and began his march to London. The nobles and gentry flocked to his standard. James saw himself gradually deserted, and made no effort to save his crown. The queen and infant prince were sent to France, and on December 12th the king fled from London by boat. The great seal, which he had carried off, was dropped in the Thames. There was some disturbance among the people, and the peers and bishops begged the Prince of Orange to come to London as regent. But the irre-

solute James was found at Feversham and brought back. William entered into negotiations with James, by which the latter went to Rochester. Again alarmed, he fled to France and proceeded to St. Germain's, where Louis XIV. treated him generously, gave him a large pension, and the palace of St. Germain as a residence.

As James had alienated the affections of both England and Scotland, his only hope of restoration lay in Ireland. Even there, in 1689, he found it was necessary to fight for the throne. He had the aid of French troops; but his own cowardice lost him the battle of the Boyne, July 1, 1690, and he hastily left the island. An invasion of England in his behalf was planned by Louis, but was frustrated by the defeat of the French fleet at Cape La Hogue, May 17, 1692. A plot which had been intended to prepare the way for another invasion was detected in February, 1696. Throughout his exile James clung to the hope of restoration, and on this account refused to become a candidate for the crown of Poland; but in 1697 peace was concluded between France and England by the treaty of Ryswick. His prospect of restoration being thus finally destroyed, James continued to live with his family as a guest of Louis XIV. He died September 16, 1701.

James II., the last of the Stuart kings, had most of the vices of his family without its redeeming qualities. He was intensely devoted to despotic authority, and availed himself of deceit and compromise to accomplish his ends. Instead of the dignity of his father and the winning grace of his brother, he showed a sullen obstinacy and careless disregard of the wishes of others. His reign was devoted to the single purpose of restoring Catholicism; but the means employed were injudicions and alarming. Only such arbitrary bigotry as he manifested in his brief reign of three years could have roused the nobles and commons of England to open resistance to his inglorious rule.

Monmouth's Rebellion.

(From Bishop Burnet's "Memoirs of His Own Time.")

The Duke of Monmouth set about his design at Amsterdam with as much haste as was possible. Arms were bought, and a

ship was freighted for Bilbao in Spain. The Duke pawned all his jewels: but these could not raise much; and no money was sent him out of England. So he was hurried into an ill-designed invasion. The whole company consisted but of eighty-two persons. They were all faithful to one another. . . . After a prosperous course, the Duke landed at Lyme in Dorsetshire; and he with his small company came ashore with some order, but with too much daylight, which discovered how few they were.

The alarm was brought hot to London; where, upon the general report and belief of the thing, an act of attainder passed both houses in one day; some small opposition being made by the Earl of Anglesey, because the evidence did not seem clear enough for so severe a sentence, which was grounded on the notoriety of the thing. The sum of £5,000 was set on his head. And with that the session of parliament ended; which was no small happiness to the nation, such a body of men being dismissed with doing so little hurt. The Duke of Monmouth's manifesto was long, and ill-penned: full of much black and dull malice. It was plainly Ferguson's style, which was both tedious and fulsome. It charged the king with the burning of London, the popish plot, Godfrey's murder, and the Earl of Essex's death; and to crown all, it was pretended, that the late king was poisoned by his orders; it was set forth, that the king's religion made him incapable of the crown; that three subsequent houses of commons had voted his exclusion: the taking away the old charters, and all the hard things done in the last reign, were laid to his charge: the elections of the present parliament were also set forth very odiously, with great indecency of style; the nation was also appealed to, when met in a free parliament, to judge of the duke's own pretensions; and all sort of liberty, both in temporals and spirituals, was promised to persons of all persuasions.

Upon the Duke of Monmouth's landing, many of the country people came in to join him, but very few of the gentry. He had quickly men enough about him to use all his arms. The Duke of Albemarle, as lord lieutenant of Devonshire, was sent down to raise the militia, and with them to make head against him. But their ill affection appeared very evidently; many deserted, and all were cold in the service. The Duke of Monmouth had the whole country open to him for almost a fortnight, during which time he was very diligent in training and animating his men. His own behavior was so gentle and obliging, that he was master of all their hearts, as much as was possible. But he quickly found

what it was to be at the head of undisciplined men, that knew nothing of war, and that were not to be used with rigor.

Ferguson ran among the people with all the fury of an enraged man, that affected to pass for an enthusiast, though all his performances that way were forced and dry. The Duke of Monmouth's great error was, that he did not in the first heat venture on some hardy action, and then march either to Exeter or Bristol; where as he would have found much wealth, so he would have gained some reputation by it. But he lingered in exercising his men, and stayed too long in the neighborhood of Lyme.

By this means the king had time both to bring troops out of Scotland, after Argyle was taken, and to send to Holland for the English and Scotch regiments that were in the service of the States; which the Prince of Orange sent over very readily and offered his own person, and a greater force, if it was necessary. The king received this with great expressions of acknowledgment and kindness. It was very visible, that he was much distracted in his thoughts, and that what appearance of courage soever he might put on, he was inwardly full of apprehension and fears. He durst not accept of the offer of assistance that the French made him; for by that he would have lost the hearts of the English nation. And he had no mind to be much obliged to the Prince of Orange, or to let him into his counsels or affairs. Prince George of Denmark committed a great error in not asking the command of the army; for the command, how much soever he might have been bound to the counsels of others, would have given him some lustre; whereas his staying at home in such time of danger brought him under much neglect.

The king could not choose worse than he did, when he gave the command to the Earl of Feversham, who was a Frenchman by birth, and nephew to Marshal de Turenne. Both his brothers changing religion, though he continued still a Protestant, made that his religion was not much trusted to. He was an honest, brave, and good-natured man, but weak to a degree not easy to be conceived. And he conducted matters so ill that every step he made was like to prove fatal to the king's service. He had no parties abroad, He got no intelligence, and was almost surprised, and like to be defeated, when he seemed to be under no apprehension, but was abed without any care or order. So that if the Duke of Monmouth had got but a very small number of good soldiers about him the king's affairs would have fallen into great disorder.

The Duke of Monmouth had almost surprised Lord Feversham, and all about him, while they were a-bed. He got in between two bodies, into which the army lay divided. He now saw his error in lingering so long. He began to want bread, and to be so straitened that there was a necessity of pushing for a speedy decision. He was so misled in his march that he lost an hour's time; and when he came near the army there was an inconsiderable ditch, in the passing of which he lost so much more time that the officers had leisure to rise and be dressed, now they had the alarm. And they put themselves in order. Yet the Duke of Monmouth's foot stood longer and fought better than could have been expected, especially when the small body of horse they had ran upon the first charge, the blame of which was cast on the Lord Grey. The foot being thus forsaken, and galled by the cannon, did run at last. About a thousand of them were killed on the spot, and fifteen hundred were taken prisoners. Their numbers, when fullest, were between five and six thousand. The Duke of Monmouth left the field too soon for a man of courage, who had such high pretensions; for a few days before he had suffered himself to be called king, which did him no service, even among those that followed him. He rode towards Dorsetshire, and when his horse could carry him no further he changed clothes with a shepherd and went as far as his legs could carry him, being accompanied only with a German, whom he had brought over with him. At last, when he could go no further, he lay down in a field where there was hay and straw, with which they covered themselves, so that they hoped to lie there unseen till night. Parties went out on all hands to take prisoners. The shepherd was found by the Lord Lumley in the Duke of Monmouth's clothes. So this put them on his track, and having some dogs with them they followed the scent, and came to the place where the German was first discovered. And he immediately pointed to the place where the Duke of Monmouth lay. So he was taken in a very indecent dress and posture.

His body was quite sunk with fatigue; and his mind was now so low that he begged his life in a manner that agreed ill with the courage of the former parts of it. He called for pen, ink and paper, and wrote to the Earl of Feversham, and both to the queen and the queen dowager, to intercede with the king for his life. The king's temper, as well as his interest, made it so impossible to hope for that, that it showed a great meanness in him to ask it in such terms as he used in his letters. He was carried up to

Whitehall, where the king examined him in person, which was thought very indecent, since he was resolved not to pardon him. He made new and unbecoming submissions, and insinuated a readiness to change his religion, for he said the king knew what his first education was in religion. There were no discoveries to be got from him, for the attempt was too rash to be well concerted, or to be so deep laid that many were involved in the guilt of it. He was examined on Monday, and orders were given for his execution on Wednesday.

Turner and Ken, the bishops of Ely and of Bath and Wells, were ordered to wait on him. But he called for Dr. Tenison. The bishops studied to convince him of the sin of rebellion. He answered, he was sorry for the blood that was shed in it; but he did not seem to repent of the design. Yet he confessed that his father had often told him that there was no truth in the reports of his having married his mother. This he set under his hand, probably for his children's sake, who were then prisoners in the Tower, that so they might not be ill used on his account. He showed a great neglect of his duchess. And her resentments for his course of life with the Lady Wentworth wrought so much on her that she seemed not to have any of that tenderness left that became her sex and his present circumstances; for though he desired to speak privately with her, she would have witnesses to hear all that passed to justify herself and to preserve her family. They parted very coldly. He only recommended to her the breeding their children in the Protestant religion. The bishops continued still to press on him a deep sense of the sin of rebellion; at which he grew so uneasy that he desired them to speak to him of other matters.

He was much better pleased with Dr. Tenison, who did very plainly speak to him with relation to his public actings, and to his course of life; but he did it in a softer and less peremptory manner. And having said all that he thought proper, he left those points, in which he saw he could not convince him, to his own conscience, and turned to other things fit to be laid before a dying man. The duke begged one day more of life with such repeated earnestness that as the king was much blamed for denying so small a favor, so it gave occasion to others to believe that he had some hope from astrologers that if he outlived that day he might have a better fate. As long as he fancied there was any hope he was too much unsettled in his mind to be capable of any thing.

But when he saw all was to no purpose, and that he must die,

he complained a little that his death was hurried on so fast. But all on the sudden he came into a composure of mind that surprised those that saw it. There was no affectation in it. His whole behaviour was easy and calm, not without a decent cheerfulness. He prayed God to forgive all his sins, unknown as well as known. He seemed confident of the mercies of God, and that he was going to be happy with him. And he went to the place of execution on Tower-hill with an air of undisturbed courage that was grave and composed. He said little there, only that he was sorry for the blood that was shed; but he had ever meant well to the nation. When he saw the axe he touched it and said it was not sharp enough. He gave the hangman but half the reward he intended, and said if he cut off his head cleverly, and not so butcherly as he did the Lord Russell's, his man would give him the rest. The executioner was in great disorder, trembling all over; so he gave him two or three strokes without being able to finish the matter, and then flung the axe out of his hand. But the sheriff forced him to take it up; and at three or four more strokes he severed his head from his body, and both were presently buried in the chapel of the Tower. Thus lived and died this unfortunate young man. He had several good qualities in him, and some that were as bad. He was soft and gentle, even to excess, and too easy to those who had credit with him. He was both sincere and good-natured, and understood war well. But he was too much given to pleasure and to favorites.

BISHOP G. BURNET.

ENGLISH SOCIETY UNDER THE STUARTS.

Few nations have undergone so sudden and complete a change in their manners as occurred in England during this period. At the commencement of the century, when James I. ascended the throne, tranquillity, concord and a general spirit of submission reigned throughout the kingdom; but in a few years all this gave place to faction, fanaticism and a spirit of rebellion that almost amounted to frenzy. The virulence of party animosity was so great, that no marriages or alliances of any kind were permitted to take place between the members of the hostile factions. "Your friends, the Cavaliers," said a Parliamentarian to a Royalist, "are very dissolute and debauched." "True," replied the Royalist, "they have the infirmities of men; but your friends, the Roundheads, have the vices of devils—tyranny, rebellion and spiritual

pride." The Cavaliers were indeed gay in their manners and dress, being commonly men of birth and fortune; and they thus presented a marked contrast to the gloomy fanaticism of the Roundheads. The rigid severity of the Presbyterians and Independents permitted no recreations, except such as were afforded by the singing of hymns and psalms. Plays, dances and all other merry-makings were sinful frivolities; horse-racing and bear-baiting—popular diversions of the times—were wicked enormities. Hence, Colonel Hewson, with pious zeal, marched his regiment into London and killed all the bears; on which incident Butler based a part of his burlesque poem, styled "Hudibras."

During this period arose also the Quakers or Friends—a sect founded by George Fox, who was born in 1624. He was by trade a shoemaker; but feeling a strong impulse toward spiritual contemplation, he abandoned this occupation, and wandered about the country, preaching the doctrines which had been suggested to his mind during his solitary meditations. Proselytes were soon gained, and a sect formed, peculiar, not only in their religious views, but in all their social habits and customs. Their zeal was soon tried by bitter persecution. They were thrown into prison—sometimes into mad-houses; they were pilloried; they were whipped; they were burned in the face; and their tongues bored with red-hot irons; but nothing could overcome their fortitude or quench their enthusiasm. Religious persecution marks the entire period, and led to the emigration which caused the establishment of most of the English colonies in North America. The Puritans fled to Massachusetts to escape the intolerance of James I., and his son's arbitrary zeal. The Catholics founded an asylum from English persecution in Maryland; and the Quakers sought civil and religious freedom amid the wilds and wild men of Pennsylvania, after vainly seeking it among their former brethren in affliction, the Puritans of New England.

The superstition and ignorance of the age are clearly but terribly demonstrated by the prevailing belief in witchcraft—perhaps the most awful of popular delusions. After the last heretic had suffered death at the stake (1612), the fires were again lighted for the burning of those charged with this mysterious crime. This delusion was not confined to England, but spread all over Europe, and extended to North America, where (at Salem) it raged with peculiar virulence. Between 1640 and 1660, it is said, some three or four thousand persons in Europe fell victims to this terrible delusion.

The commerce and navigation of England increased greatly

during the peaceful period of Charles the First's reign. The trade to Guinea, the Levant and the East Indies was quite large; immense quantities of cloth were annually exported to Turkey; and the English possessed almost the monopoly of the traffic with Spain. Interrupted during the civil wars, commerce soon recovered after the Restoration, and received additional encouragement from the losses sustained by the Dutch. Besides, the prevalence of democratical principles induced many of the gentry to educate their sons to mercantile pursuits, and thus commerce became more honorable than it had ever been at any previous time. The trade with the American colonies soon became considerable. At the close of the century about five hundred vessels were employed in this trade and with the West Indies. Of these, however, some were engaged in the slave trade. A Board of Trade was established in 1670, its first president being the Earl of Sandwich.

Tea and coffee were introduced from the East about 1665, but for a long time were so expensive that they were used only as luxuries. Ginger, cloves, pepper and other spices were also brought from the East Indies, and tobacco had become an extensive article of commerce. James I., who had a great dislike to its use, wrote a treatise against it, which he called "The Counterblaste to Tobacco," and in which he described it as "a custom loathsome to the eye, hateful to the nose, harmful to the brain and dangerous to the lungs." Asparagus, artichokes, cauliflowers and a variety of other vegetables were also introduced into England during this period. Whale-ships visited the shores of Greenland and Spitzbergen, and an extensive trade in whalebone was commenced, the whale previous to this having been valued only for its oil. Madras and Bombay became important centres of the East Indian trade, Java fell into the hands of the Dutch, but St. Helena became an English possession (1651).

Next to the capital the chief seaport was Bristol, and Norwich the chief manufacturing town. Manchester, now the great centre of the cotton manufacture, was then a small town of about six thousand inhabitants; Leeds, the great woolen mart, was but little larger; Sheffield and Birmingham were very small towns; and Liverpool probably did not contain two hundred seamen. The population of London at the death of Charles II. is estimated at half a million. The streets, narrow, dirty, unpaved, and not lighted till the last year of that monarch's reign, were infested with ruffians and robbers, against whom the watchmen, generally old and feeble men, could afford no protection.

The first law for erecting turnpikes was passed in 1662. The roads were exceedingly bad, and traveling, consequently, very difficult. Goods were transported in wagons or on pack-horses; passengers, in stage-coaches, which were slow, lumbering vehicles, with great difficulty drawn through the mud which filled the roads. In 1669 a "Flying Coach" required thirteen hours to pass between Oxford and London—a distance of fifty-five miles. The inns were numerous and comfortable; but highwaymen, mounted and armed, infested the roads, and were often the confederates of the innkeepers. The post-bags were carried on horseback, at the rate of five miles an hour. The first regular post-office was established in 1635 for the more speedy communication of intelligence between England and Scotland.

The first English newspaper was printed during the session of the Long Parliament (1641), the Star Chamber having previously put effectual restraints upon the publication of intelligence. Liberty of the press was not enjoyed to any extent until 1695; when, the censorship of the press having been abolished, a number of newspapers were at once issued. They were, of course, very small, the entire sheet containing less matter than is now comprised in a single column of a large daily newspaper. King William and his ministers looked with great distrust upon this unprecedented freedom.

During this period manufacturing industry began to assume that prominence in England which it now possesses. The cotton manufacture was commenced at Manchester, and the art of dyeing woolen cloth was introduced from Flanders, thus saving the nation vast sums of money. New manufactures were also established in iron, brass, silk, paper, etc. The increase of coinage is said to have amounted to upward of ten millions of pounds. A writer giving an account of this period remarks that, "In 1688 there were on the 'Change more men worth ten thousand pounds than there were in 1650 worth one thousand; and that gentlewomen, in those earlier times thought themselves well clothed in a serge gown, in which a chambermaid would, in 1688, be ashamed to be seen; and that besides the great increase of rich clothes, plate, jewels and household furniture, coaches were in that time augmented a hundredfold."

The trade with India and the Levant led to the introduction of many articles of luxury, both in dress and furniture. Carpets, from being used only as covers for tables, came gradually into their present use; although during most of this period rushes or

matting constituted the only covering used for floors. The manufacture of oilcloth was commenced in 1660. The Duke of Buckingham introduced the making of glass from Venice. Prince Rupert, who was a zealous patron both of the useful and the fine arts, invented or improved the method of engraving called *mezzotint.* The glass bead called Prince Rupert's drop derives its name from him.

The Stuarts were patrons of the fine arts. The value of pictures is said to have doubled in Europe in consequence of the competition of Charles I. and Philip IV. of Spain to obtain them. The distinguished Dutch painters, Van Dyke and Rubens, were invited into England, and received great attention from the Court. Inigo Jones and Sir Christopher Wren, the renowned architects, flourished during this period. The former built the beautiful banqueting-house at Whitehall; the latter is especially celebrated as the designer of St. Paul's. In London alone, fifty-one churches were erected from Wren's designs.

The Royal Society for the Promotion of Science was established during the reign of Charles II., and there arose in England a galaxy of great men, distinguished for their researches in every branch of human knowledge. Boyle, by improving the air-pump, was enabled to make many valuable experiments on the nature and properties of the air; Wallis and Hooke made some valuable improvements in optical instruments; Flamsteed and Halley were eminent astronomers—the former noted for the catalogue of stars which he made; the latter as the first to predict the return of a comet. Harvey also announced his famous discovery of the circulation of the blood (1619). Above all, however, towered the sublime genius of Sir Isaac Newton, the discoverer of the law of universal gravitation.—J. J. ANDERSON.

VISCOUNT DUNDEE.

UNDER the name of Claverhouse, John Graham, though a gallant soldier of noble birth, won a detestable reputation as a fierce persecutor of the Scotch Covenanters. Within ten years he himself, under the name of Dundee, was the outlawed leader of the Highlanders in opposition to King William III. Though his forces won the battle over the royal troops, he fell in the fight and the rebellion was extinguished. His varied career has furnished themes for many Scotch writers. Yet more have execrated than have praised this reckless cavalier.

John Graham, of Claverhouse, was born in 1643, the eldest son of Sir William Graham and Lady Jean Carnegie. For four years he was a student of St. Leonard's college in the University of St. Andrew's, and appears to have obtained a good education. Having chosen a military career, he entered the French service as a volunteer, and in 1672 went to Holland. Here he was a cornet in a cavalry regiment under William, Prince of Orange. By his exertions the life of that prince was saved when his horse was sunk in a bog after the battle of Seneffe, in 1674. For this his reward was a captaincy, but he wished for something higher. When the command of a Scotch regiment in the Dutch service became vacant, he applied for the place. On being refused he threw up his commission, exclaiming, "The soldier who has not gratitude cannot be brave."

Claverhouse returned to Scotland in 1677. Early in the next spring he accepted a lieutenancy in a troop of horse under the Marquis of Montrose. The Duke of Lauderdale, who had

charge of Scottish affairs, now undertook to crush the Covenanters by enforcing the act of 1670, which imposed the punishment of death and confiscation of goods upon all who refused the oath of allegiance. Claverhouse, already noted as an energetic soldier, was selected to carry out this policy in the southwestern part of Scotland, where the Whigs, as the stricter Presbyterians were called, most abounded. Some of the Covenanters denounced Charles II. for perjury in having restored episcopacy, after having sworn to the Covenant. Most of the Whigs made no opposition to the government except in holding conventicles, that is, unauthorized assemblies for worship. Some noblemen had winked at these proceedings, but Claverhouse was an ardent cavalier, full of ill-tempered zeal for Church and King. He scoured the country, tracking out and dispersing the meetings of the Covenanters.

On May 5, 1679, Archbishop Sharp, who had formerly been a Presbyterian, was murdered by a fanatic. Claverhouse then felt called to greater activity, and he set out with his dragoons to a gathering of Covenanters at Loudon Hill, in Ayrshire. On Sunday, June 1, they were found at Drumclog, partly protected by marshy ground. Inflamed by enthusiasm, the Covenanters attacked and defeated their persecutors. Thirty-six dragoons were killed, and Graham narrowly escaped. But this disgrace and another fight at Bothwell Bridge roused Claverhouse to vengeance, even on unarmed Whigs. Henceforth the track of his troop was marked with carnage. The leader's excuse for these atrocities was that "if terror ended or prevented war, it was true mercy." The Duke of Monmouth sought to conciliate the Covenanters by relaxing the laws against them; but Claverhouse was opposed to any leniency. His supporters sent him to London to present their views to the king. Charles, charmed with his handsome appearance, fondness for sport, and devotion to royalty, soon bestowed on Graham a Scotch barony. In 1681 a Test act was passed, requiring every suspected person to prove his loyalty by renouncing the Covenant and swearing allegiance to the king. Claverhouse was appointed sheriff of Dumfries and other places. He was also captain of a troop of dragoons, whom he quartered on the disaffected. The cruel course which had

already procured for him the stigma of "Bloody Claver'se," was continued. It won the approval of those in authority. In December, 1682, he was appointed colonel of a new regiment, raised in Scotland. In the next year, by royal grant, he received the lands and lordship of Dundee and Dudhope, and was sworn a privy councillor of Scotland. His former severity in punishing rebels was unabated. Each summer was spent in thorough inspection of his southern shires. No relaxation of the severe measures he was directed to enforce was ever sought. In May, 1685, John Brown, a pious carrier, was shot down at his own door, and in presence of his wife, for refusing the test. This wanton act is the blackest stain on the memory of Claverhouse. Yet he continued to rise in office. He was made major-general and provost of Dundee. In ten years his force of character had raised him from being captain to a high position as statesman and royal favorite.

When the royal power was slipping from James II., Claverhouse went with the Scotch army to his aid. Though the king had not courage to follow his bold advice, he rewarded his fidelity by making him Viscount of Dundee in November, 1688. With James Dundee stayed until the king's departure to France, and then returned to Scotland. All his efforts at Edinburgh in behalf of the fugitive sovereign were in vain. The too faithful subject was even denounced as a traitor and obliged to seek refuge in the Highlands. The chiefs of the clans felt themselves slighted by the new government of William III., and were easily stirred to rebellion. Meantime, Dundee's army friends kept him apprised of whatever measures were undertaken against him. General Hugh Mackay, who had served with William in Holland, led an army of 5,000 troops to Aberdeen. Thence he marched westward with cavalry in search of Dundee. The latter was expecting a force from Ireland, as promised by James. After plundering Perth, Dundee went to Lochaber, where the clans assembled at the end of May. He set out to meet Mackay, but the Highlanders, laden with plunder, slipped away to their homes. Mackay, thinking his work accomplished, moved to the south. Dundee was informed that a price of £20,000 had been placed on his head.

At last, in June, 1689, some reinforcements arrived from Ireland, and the Highland clans began again to assemble. Mackay returned from Edinburgh to Perth and hoped to gain the castle of Blair Athole, near the pass of Killiecrankie, on the line of the communications between the Highlands and the Lowlands. But Dundee had secured possession of the castle and ordered the clans to gather there. The pass of Killiecrankie was left unoccupied, much to Mackay's surprise. But on emerging from the dangerous defile on July 27th, he saw the Highland forces on the hills opposite. During the day various expedients were used to tempt them to descend; but Dundee restrained their impatience. Towards sunset the Highlanders rushed furiously down, and swiftly routed Mackay's army. Dundee hastened with his cavalry to the pass to cut off their retreat. While he was waving his arm a musket-ball pierced his body. He fell from his horse, and was carried from the field. On being told that the day went well he said: "It matters little about me, when the day has gone well for my master." Before his death he wrote to King James a short account of the battle. Mackay's army had lost 2,000 men, while Dundee's had lost only 800. But the insurrection in Scotland was ended with the loss of that valiant soldier.

Graham of Claverhouse was cool in pursuing success, careless of death for himself, and ruthless in inflicting it on others. His dauntless valor was concealed under a polished manner seemingly better suited to the court than to the field. Completely devoted to the interests of his sovereign, he had no regard for the rights of others.

Bonny Dundee.

To the Lords of Convention 'twas Claver'se who spoke:
"Ere the king's crown shall fall there are crowns to be broke,
So let each cavalier who loves honor and me,
Come follow the bonnet of Bonny Dundee.

"Come fill up my cup, come fill up my can,
Come saddle your horses, and call up your men;
Come open the West Port, and let me gang free,
And it's room for the bonnets of Bonny Dundee!"

Dundee he is mounted, he rides up the street,
The bells are rung backward, the drums they are beat;
But the provost, douce man, said, "Just e'en let him be,
The Gude Town is weel quit of that De'il of Dundee."

As he rode down the sanctified bends of the Bow,
Ilk carline was flyting and shaking her pow;*
But the young plants of grace they look'd *couthie* and *slee*, [*agree-*
Thinking, Luck to thy bonnet, thou Bonny Dundee! [*able, sly*

With sour-featured Whigs the Grassmarket was cramm'd
As if half the West had set tryst to be hang'd;
There was spite in each look, there was fear in each e'e,
As they watch'd for the bonnets of Bonny Dundee.

These *cowls* of Kilmarnock had spits and had spears [*caps*
And lang-hafted *gullies* to kill cavaliers; [*knives*
But they shrunk to close-heads, and the causeway was free,
At the toss of the bonnet of Bonny Dundee.

He spurr'd to the foot of the proud castle rock,
And with the gay Gordon he gallantly spoke:
"Let Mons Meg † and her *marrows* speak twa words or three,
For the love of the bonnet of Bonny Dundee." [*companions*

The Gordon demands of him which way he goes—
"Where'er shall direct me the shade of Montrose!
Your grace in short space shall hear tidings of me,
Or that low lies the bonnet of Bonny Dundee.

"There are hills beyond Pentland, and lands beyond Forth,
If there's lords in the Lowlands, there's chiefs in the North;
There are wild Duniewassals three thousand times three,
Will cry *hoigh!* for the bonnet of Bonny Dundee.

"There's brass on the target of *barken'd* bull-hide; [*tanned*
There's steel in the scabbard that dangles beside;
The brass shall be burnish'd, the steel shall flash free,
At a toss of the bonnet of Bonnie Dundee.

"Away to the hills, to the caves, to the rocks—
Ere I own an usurper, I'll couch with the fox;
And tremble, false Whigs, in the midst of your glee,
You have not seen the last of my bonnet and me!"

* Every old woman was scolding and shaking her head.
† The great cannon of Edinburgh castle.

He waved his proud hand, and the trumpets were blown,
The kettle-drums clash'd, and the horsemen rode on,
Till on Ravelston's cliffs and on Clermiston's lea,
Died away the wild war-notes of Bonny Dundee.

"Come fill up my cup, come fill up my can,
Come saddle the horses and call up the men,
Come open your gates, and let me gae free,
For it's up with the bonnets of Bonny Dundee!"

—Sir Walter Scott.

The Battle of Killiecrankie.

(June 17, 1689.)

Circumstances began to render Dundee desirous of trying the chance of battle, which he had hitherto avoided. The Marquis of Athole, who had vacillated more than once during the progress of the Revolution, now abandoned entirely the cause of King James, and sent his son, Lord Murray, into Athole, to raise the clans of that country, Stewarts, Robertsons, Fergussons, and others, who were accustomed to follow the family of Athole in war, from respect to the marquis's rank and power, though they were not his patriarchal subjects or clansmen. One of these gentlemen, Stewart of Bequhan, although dependent on the marquis, was resolved not to obey him through his versatile changes of politics. Having been placed in possession of the strong castle of Blair, a fortress belonging to the marquis, which commands the most important pass into the northern Highlands, Stewart refused to surrender it to Lord Murray, and declared he held it for King James, by order of the Viscount of Dundee. Lord Murray, finding his own father's house thus defended against him, sent the tidings to General MacKay, who assembled about three thousand foot, and two troops of horse, and advanced with all haste into Athole, determined to besiege Blair, and to fight Dundee, should he march to its relief.

At this critical period Lord Murray had assembled about eight hundred Athole Highlanders, of the clans already named, who were brought together under the pretense of preserving the peace of the country. Many of them, however, began to suspect the purpose of Lord Murray to join MacKay; and recollecting that it was under Montrose's command, and in the cause of the Stewarts, that their fathers had gained their fame, they resolved they would not be diverted from the same course of loyalty, as they esteemed

it. They, therefore, let Lord Murray know, that if it was his intention to join Dundee, they would all follow him to the death; but if he proposed to embrace the side of King William, they would presently leave him. Lord Murray answered with threats of that vengeance which a feudal lord could take upon disobedient vassals, when his men, setting his threats at defiance, ran to the river, and filling their bonnets with water, drank King James's health, and left the standard of the marquis to a man—a singular defection among the Highlanders of that period, who usually followed to the field their immediate superior, with much indifference concerning the side of politics which he was pleased to embrace.

These tidings came to Dundee, with the information that MacKay had reached Dunkeld, with the purpose of reducing Blair, and punishing the Athole gentlemen for their desertion of the standard of their chief. About the same time, General Cannon joined the viscount, with the reinforcements so long expected from Ireland; but they amounted to only three hundred men, instead of as many thousands, and were totally destitute of money and provisions, both of which were to have been sent with them. Nevertheless, Dundee resolved to preserve the castle of Blair, so important as a key to the northern Highlands, and marched to protect it with a body of about two thousand Highlanders, with whom he occupied the upper and northern extremity of the pass between Dunkeld and Blair.

In this celebrated defile, called the Pass of Killiecrankie, the road runs for several miles along the banks of a furious river, called the Garrey, which rages below, amongst cataracts and waterfalls, which the eye can scarcely discern, while a series of precipices and wooded mountains rise on the other hand; the road itself is the only mode of access through the glen and along the valley which lies at its northern extremity. The path was then much more inaccessible than at the present day, as it ran close to the bed of the river, and was narrower and more rudely formed.

A defile of such difficulty was capable of being defended to the last extremity by a small number against a considerable army: and considering how well adapted his followers were for such mountain warfare, many of the Highland chiefs were of opinion, that Dundee ought to content himself with guarding the pass against MacKay's superior army, until a rendezvous, which they had appointed, should assemble a stronger force of their country-

men. But Dundee was of a different opinion, and resolved to suffer MacKay to march through the pass without opposition, and then to fight him in the open valley, at the northern extremity. He chose this bold measure, both because it promised a decisive result to the combat which his ardent temper desired; and also because he preferred fighting MacKay before that general was joined by a considerable body of English horse, who were expected, and of whom the Highlanders had at that time some dread.

On the 17th of June, 1689, General MacKay with his troops entered the pass, which, to their astonishment, they found unoccupied by the enemy. His forces were partly English and Dutch regiments, who, with many of the Lowland Scots themselves, were struck with awe, and even fear, at finding themselves introduced by such a magnificent, and, at the same time, formidable avenue, to the presence of their enemies, the inhabitants of these tremendous mountains, into whose recesses they were penetrating. But besides the effect produced on their minds by the magnificence of natural scenery to which they were wholly unaccustomed, the consideration must have hung heavy on them, that if a general of Dundee's talents suffered them to march unopposed through a pass so difficult, it must be because he was conscious of possessing strength sufficient to attack and destroy them at the further extremity, when their only retreat would lie through the narrow and perilous path by which they were now advancing.

Mid-day was past ere MacKay's men were extricated from the defile, when their general drew them up in one line three deep, without any reserve, along the southern extremity of the narrow valley into which the pass opens. A hill on the north side of the valley, covered with dwarf trees and bushes, formed the position of Dundee's army, which, divided into columns, formed by the different clans, was greatly outflanked by MacKay's troops.

The armies shouted when they came in sight of each other; but the enthusiasm of MacKay's soldiers being damped by the circumstances we have observed, their military shout made but a dull and sullen sound compared to the yell of the Highlanders, which rung far and shrill from all the hills around them. Sir Evan Cameron of Lochiel called on those around him to attend to this circumstance, saying, that in all his battles he observed victory had ever been on the side of those whose shout before joining seemed most sprightly and confident. It was accounted a less

favorable augury by some of the old Highlanders, that Dundee at this moment, to render his person less distinguishable, put on a sad-colored buff coat above the scarlet cassock and bright cuirass, in which he had hitherto appeared.

It was some time ere Dundee had completed his preparations for the assault which he meditated, and only a few dropping shots were exchanged, while, in order to prevent the risk of being outflanked, he increased the intervals between the columns with which he designed to charge, insomuch that he had scarce men enough left in the centre. About an hour before sunset, he sent word to MacKay that he was about to attack him, and gave the signal to charge.

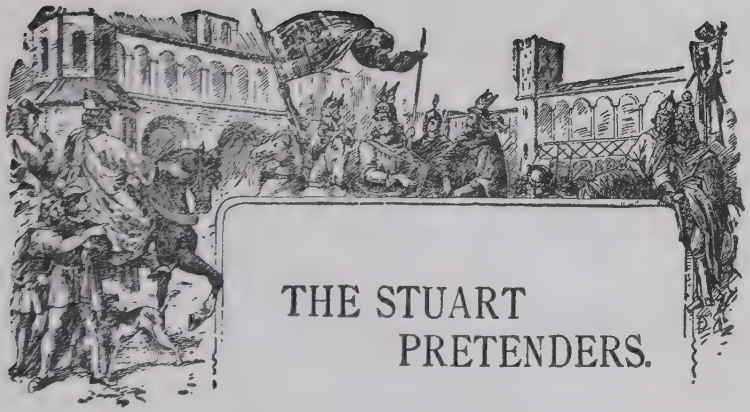
The Highlanders stript themselves to their shirts and doublets, threw away everything that could impede the fury of their onset, and then put themselves in motion, accompanying with a dreadful yell the discordant sound of their war-pipes. As they advanced the clansmen fired their pieces, each column thus pouring in a well-aimed though irregular volley, when, throwing down their fusees, without waiting to reload, they drew their swords, and increasing their pace to the utmost speed, pierced through and broke the thin line which was opposed to them, and profited by their superior activity and the nature of their weapons to make a great havoc among the regular troops. When thus mingled with each other, hand to hand, the advantages of superior discipline on the part of the Lowland soldier were lost—agility and strength were on the side of the mountaineers. Some accounts of the battle give a terrific account of the blows struck by the Highlanders, which cleft heads down to the breast, cut steel head-pieces asunder as night-caps, and slashed through pikes like willows. Two of MacKay's English regiments in the centre stood fast, the interval between the attacking columns being so great that none were placed opposite to them. The rest of King William's army were totally routed and driven headlong into the river.

Dundee himself, contrary to the advice of the Highland chiefs, was in front of the battle, and fatally conspicuous. By a desperate attack he possessed himself of MacKay's artillery, and then led his handful of cavalry, about fifty men, against two troops of horse, which fled without fighting. Observing the stand made by the two English regiments already mentioned, he galloped towards the clan of Macdonald, and was in the act of bringing them to the charge with his right arm elevated, as if pointing to the way of victory, when he was struck by a bullet beneath the arm-pit,

where he was unprotected by his cuirass. He tried to ride on, but being unable to keep the saddle, fell mortally wounded, and died in the course of the night.

It was impossible for a victory to be more complete than that gained by the Highlanders at Killiecrankie. The cannon, baggage, and stores of MacKay's army fell into their hands. The two regiments which kept their ground suffered so much in their attempt to retreat through the pass, now occupied by the Athole men in their rear, that they might be considered as destroyed. Two thousand of MacKay's army were killed or taken, and the general himself escaped with difficulty to Stirling, at the head of a few horse. The Highlanders, whose dense columns, as they came down to the attack, underwent three successive volleys from MacKay's line, had eight hundred men slain.

But all other losses were unimportant compared to that of Dundee, with whom were forfeited all the fruits of that bloody victory. MacKay, when he found himself free from pursuit, declared his conviction that his opponent had fallen in the battle. And such was the opinion of Dundee's talents and courage, and the general sense of the peculiar crisis at which his death took place, that the common people of the low country cannot, even now, be persuaded that he died an ordinary death. They say, that a servant of his own, shocked at the severities, which, if triumphant, his master was likely to accomplish against the Presbyterians, and giving way to the popular prejudice of his having a charm against lead balls, shot him, in the tumult of the battle, with a silver button taken from his livery coat. The Jacobites and Episcopal party, on the other hand, lamented the deceased victor as the last of the Scots, the last of the Grahams, and the last of all that was great in his native country.—SIR WALTER SCOTT.



THE STUART PRETENDERS.

I. James Edward, The Old Pretender.

JAMES II. of England was a rigid and outspoken Roman Catholic even before he became king. After he had ascended the throne, his bigoted course alienated many who had thought it their sacred duty to maintain his right. Before three years had elapsed Tories and Whigs united in a project to expel him. The birth of his son at this juncture only strengthened the desire of the nation to get rid of him. William of Orange, the leader of the Protestant party in Europe, had little difficulty in obtaining the crown to which he was invited. He was himself a grandson of Charles I., and had married Mary, the elder daughter of James II. The English Revolution was accomplished in November, 1688, and James sought refuge in France.

His son, James Frederick Edward Stuart, known as the Old Pretender, was born at St. James' Palace, London, June 10, 1688. The popular opinion at the time was that the child was supposititious, but this has been completely disproved. Before the father's flight the infant had been sent with his mother, Mary of Modena, to France. In 1701, on his father's death, he was proclaimed king by Louis XIV., but an attempt to perform the ceremony in London was resented by the populace. A bill of attainder was passed against him before the death of William III. in 1702. Princess Anne of Denmark, half-sister of the Pretender, succeeded

to the English throne. Yet the Jacobites, as his partisans were called (from *Jacobus*, the Latin for James), were numerous and influential. In 1708 an expedition fitted out in his behalf by Louis against England failed completely. On the fall of the Whig party in England, his prospects considerably improved. Negotiations were opened, and in 1712 James wrote to his sister Anne, who was thought to look favorably on his restoration. After the peace of Utrecht he was compelled to leave France, and went to Bar-le-Duc in Lorraine. Had he been willing to become a Protestant he might easily have succeeded to the throne on Anne's death. But he adhered firmly to the Catholic faith. The Electress Sophia, who had been named in the Act of Settlement as successor to Anne, died two months before her, and the next heir was Sophia's son George of Hanover. In June, 1714, both Houses of Parliament issued proclamations against the Pretender. On August 1, Queen Anne died suddenly, and George peaceably secured the throne.

The Pretender, who was called the Chevalier de St. George in France, issued a proclamation, claiming the crown. He hoped that Louis would be induced to break the peace, but Louis died in 1715. Though various misadventures occurred, the Jacobites rose both in Scotland and England. In September James Stuart was solemnly proclaimed king by the Earl of Mar in the midst of the assembled Highland clans. But the Duke of Argyle, with a royal army strongly posted at Stirling, watched their movements. An indecisive battle was fought at Sheriffmuir, on November 13th, and Mar retreated to Perth. At the same time the English part of the Pretender's forces which had captured Preston, finding itself unsupported, surrendered. When James landed at Peterhead without the aid eagerly expected from France, his party was broken and dispirited. He wasted weeks at Perth, the ancient capital of Scotland, in frivolous preparations for his coronation. When he heard that Argyle was advancing he retreated to Montrose, and thence with Mar sailed for France, leaving his army to its fate. The Highlanders dispersed. More than thirty English and Scotch noblemen and gentlemen suffered death. The estates of many were confiscated and more than

a thousand were banished to America. On his return to France James unjustly laid the blame of failure on Bolingbroke, who had been his secretary, and replaced him by Mar.

In 1717 there was a project of a Stuart restoration by Charles XII. of Sweden and the Spanish minister Alberoni, but it came to naught. The English government then induced the Regent of France to expel James, who took refuge at Rome. He was betrothed to Clementina, granddaughter of John Sobieski, king of Poland; but on her way to Rome she was arrested by the German Emperor and detained a prisoner. After a time she escaped to Italy and was married to James. In 1719 the Pretender was invited to Spain, where Alberoni fitted out an expedition against England, but storms scattered it in the Bay of Biscay. On the last day of 1720 James's son, Charles Edward, was born. There were new plots of Jacobites in England and local risings in Scotland, but they were soon extinguished. James quarreled with his secretary, Mar, and appointed Colonel Hay in his place with the title Earl of Inverness. Clementina, offended by her husband's licentious habits, left him. He lost also the favor of Spain and Germany.

On the death of George I. in 1727 the Pretender's hopes were revived, but he was again doomed to disappointment. He was reconciled to his wife, and took as his chief adviser the brother of Inverness, making him Earl of Dunbar. New intrigues were formed, the ultimate result of which was the Young Pretender's expedition in 1745. After the failure of this last attempt the father quarreled with the son, but ceased to have any influence on public affairs. He lived at Rome, where the Pope granted him a regular income and a guard of soldiers and ordered that he should be styled King of England. The satirical Italians complied by calling him the king *here* in distinction from the king *there*, that is, in England. His miniature court was frequented by English and Scotch Jacobite noblemen and the foreign enemies of the House of Hanover. Horace Walpole described him in his old age: "He is tall, meagre and melancholy of aspect. Enthusiasm and disappointment have stamped a solemnity on his person, which rather awakens pity than respect. He seems

the phantom which good nature divested of reflection conjures up when we think of the misfortunes without the demerits of Charles the First. Without the particular features of any Stuart, the Chevalier has the strong lines and fatality of air peculiar to them all." In later years this unworthy Pretender was so infirm that he was unable to leave his bed-chamber. He died at Rome, January 12, 1766, and was interred in St. Peter's Church. His whole career showed him deficient in energy and enterprise, thoroughly selfish and faithless.

The Old Pretender in Scotland. (1715).

The Earl of Mar, having been joined by the northern clans, under the Earl of Seaforth, and those of the west, commanded by General Gordon, who had signalized himself in the service of the Czar of Muscovy, resolved to pass the Forth, in order to join his southern friends, that they might march together into England. With this view he advanced to Auchterarder, where he reviewed his army, and rested on the 11th of November. The Duke of Argyle, apprised of his intention, and being joined by some regiments of dragoons from Ireland, determined to give him battle in the neighborhood of Dumblane. On the 12th of the month, Argyle passed the Forth at Stirling, and encamped, with his left at the village of Dumblane and his right towards Sheriffmuir. The Earl of Mar advanced within two miles of his camp and remained till daybreak in order of battle. His army consisted of 9000 effective men, cavalry as well as infantry. In the morning, the Duke, understanding they were in motion, drew up his forces, which did not exceed 3500 men, on the heights to the north-east of Dumblane; but he was outflanked both on the right and left. The clans that formed part of the centre and right wing of the enemy, with Glengarry and Clanranald at their head, charged the left of the king's army, sword in hand, with such impetuosity that in seven minutes both horse and foot were totally routed with great slaughter, and General Whetham, who commanded them, fled at full gallop to Stirling, where he declared the royal army was totally defeated. In the meantime the Duke of Argyle, who commanded in person on the right, attacked the left of the enemy, at the head of Stair's and Evan's dragoons, who drove them two miles before him, as far as the Water of Allan. Yet in that space they wheeled about, and attempted to rally ten times, so that he was obliged to press them hard that they might not

recover from their confusion. Brigadier Wightman followed in order to sustain him, with three battalions of infantry; while the victorious right wing of the rebels, having pursued Whetham a considerable way, returned to the field, and formed in the rear of Wightman to the amount of 5000 men. The Duke of Argyle, returning from the pursuit, joined Wightman, who had faced about and taken possession of some enclosures and mud-walls, in expectation of being attacked. In this posture both armies fronted each other till evening, when the Duke drew off towards Dumblane, and the rebels retired to Ardoch without mutual molestation. Next day the Duke marched back to the field of battle, carried off the wounded, with four pieces of cannon left by the enemy, and retreated to Stirling. Few prisoners were taken on either side; the number of slain might be about five hundred of each army, and both generals claimed the victory. This battle was not so fatal to the Highlanders as the loss of Inverness, from which Sir John Mackenzie was driven by Simon Frazier. Lord Lovat, who, contrary to the principles he had hitherto professed, secured this important post for the government, by which means a free communication was opened with the north of Scotland, where the Earl of Sutherland had raised a considerable body of vassals. The Marquis of Huntly and the Earl of Seaforth were obliged to quit the rebel army in order to defend their own territories, and in a little time submitted to King George; the Marquis of Tullibardine withdrew from the army to cover his own country, and the clans, seeing no likelihood of another action, began to disperse according to custom.

The government was now in a condition to send strong reinforcements to Scotland; 6000 men, that were claimed of the States-general by virtue of the treaty, landed in England and began their march to Edinburgh. General Cadogan set out for the same place with Brigadier Petit, and six other engineers, and a train of artillery was shipped at the Tower for that country, the Duke of Argyle resolving to drive the Earl of Mar out of Perth, to which town he had retired with the remains of his forces. The Pretender having been amused with the hope of seeing the whole kingdom of England rise up as one man in his behalf, and the Duke of Ormond having made a fruitless voyage to the western coast, to try the disposition of the people, he was now convinced of the vanity of his expectations in that quarter, and as he knew not what other course to take, he resolved to hazard his person among his friends in Scotland at a time when his affairs in that

kingdom were absolutely desperate. From Bretagne he posted through part of France in disguise; and embarking in a small vessel at Dunkirk hired for that purpose, arrived on the 22nd of December at Peterhead, with six gentlemen in his retinue, one of whom was the Marquis of Teignmouth, son to the Duke of Berwick. He passed through Aberdeen incognito to Fetteresso, where he was met by the Earls of Mar and Marischal, and about thirty noblemen and gentlemen of the first quality. Here he was solemnly proclaimed; his declaration dated Commercy was printed and circulated through all the parts in that neighborhood, and he received addresses from the Episcopal clergy and laity of that community in the diocese of Aberdeen.

On the 5th of January he made his public entry into Dundee, and on the 7th arrived at Scone, where he seemed determined to stay until the ceremony of his coronation should be performed; from thence he made an excursion to Perth, where he reviewed his forces; then he formed a regular council, and published six proclamations—one for a general thanksgiving on account of his safe arrival, another enjoining the ministers to pray for him in churches, a third establishing the currency of foreign coins, a fourth summoning the meeting of the convention of estates, a fifth ordering all sensible men to repair to his standard, and a sixth fixing the 23d of January for his coronation. He made a pathetic speech in a grand council, at which all the chiefs of his party assisted. They determined, however, to abandon the enterprise, as the king's army was reinforced by the Dutch auxiliaries, and they themselves were not only reduced to a small number, but likewise destitute of money, arms, ammunition, forage and provisions, for the Duke of Argyle had taken possession of Burntisland, and transported a detachment to Fife, so as to cut off Mar's communication with that fertile country.

Notwithstanding the severity of the weather and a prodigious fall of snow, which rendered the roads almost impassable, the Duke, on the 29th of January, began his march to Dumblane, and next day reached Tullibardine, where he received intelligence that the Pretender and his forces had, on the preceding day, retired towards Dundee. He forthwith took possession of Perth, and then began his march to Aberbrothwick, in pursuit of the enemy. The Chevalier de St. George being thus hotly pursued, was prevailed on to embark on board a small French ship that lay in the harbor of Montrose. He was accompanied by the Earls of Mar and Melfort, Lord Drummond, Lieutenant-General Bulk-

ley, and other persons of distinction, to the number of seventeen. In order to avoid the English cruisers, they stretched over to Norway, and, coasting along the German and Dutch shores, arrived in five days at Gravelines. General Gordon, whom the Pretender had left commander-in-chief of the forces, assisted by the Earl marshal, proceeded with them to Aberdeen, where he secured three vessels to sail northward and take on board the persons who intended to make their escape to the Continent. Then they continued their march through Strathspey and Strathdown to the hills of Badenoch, where the common people were quietly dismissed. This retreat was made with such expedition that the Duke of Argyle, with all his activity, could never overtake their rearguard, which consisted of a thousand horse, commanded by the Earl marshal. Such was the issue of a rebellion that proved fatal to many noble families, a rebellion which in all probability would never have happened had not the violent measures of a Whig ministry kindled such a flame of discontent in the nation as encouraged the partisans of the Pretender to hazard a revolt. —Sir Walter Scott.

II. Charles Edward, the Young Pretender.

Charles Edward, known in history as the Young Pretender, was born at Rome on the 31st of December, 1720. He was carefully educated, and the Pope watched over his religious training. At the age of fourteen he was permitted to join Don Carlos in his struggle for the crown of Naples. As a nominal general of artillery he took part in the siege of Gaeta. The doings of the handsome and accomplished prince were regularly reported by the English Ambassador. As he grew up the frankness of his manner and dignity of his bearing strongly impressed the leading Italians. Royal honors were paid to him on his visits to Venice, Florence and other cities. His father built his hopes of restoration on foreign aid. In 1743 Cardinal Tencin, the French minister of war, arranged for an invasion of England. Charles Edward went to Paris, but was not received by King Louis XV. Fleets were collected at Brest and Toulon, and 15,000 veterans under Marshal Saxe were assembled at Dunkirk. A squadron under Admiral Roquefeuille sailed from the coast, but he feared to attack the English fleet. The transports and ships were damaged and

dispersed by a severe storm. The French ministry abandoned the design, and Charles, who had been on board the fleet, returned to Paris. He took an active part in the Jacobite intrigues and communicated with his Scotch adherents through Murray of Broughton. Stimulated by the result of the battle of Fontenoy, won by the valor of the Irish brigade, Charles hastened his plans, and in spite of the dissuasions of friends, resolved to venture to Scotland. On the 13th of July, 1745, he sailed in a small brig accompanied by a French man-of-war, and though the latter was driven back, Charles escaped and landed in the Hebrides on August 2d. He had but seven men with him, and the Highland chieftains attempted to restrain the young man from attempting an insurrection. His earnest enthusiasm at last won over Cameron of Lochiel, and on the 19th the standard of James III. and VIII. was raised in the valley of Glenfinnan. With 700 wild clansmen Prince Charles began his southward march. Sir John Cope, with 1,500 men, marching north from Edinburgh, went to Inverness. Charles passed through Perth and Stirling to Edinburgh. His skirmishers defeated the dragoons of Colonel Gardiner in what was called "the canter of Coltbrig." Without further resistance Charles entered the Scotch capital on September 18th, and though the castle still held out, he occupied the palace of Holyrood. Cope's troops were hastily brought back by sea, and Charles, reinforced by 1,000 Highlanders, moved out to meet them at Prestonpans. Before daylight on the 21st, the clansmen crossed a marsh and made a dash on the English lines. The surprise was complete and the royal troops were cut to pieces. Their artillery, stores and money-chest fell into the hands of the victors.

Charles lingered for six weeks at Holyrood, striving to win the favor of the people, and hoping for large accessions to his ranks. Night after night the ball-rooms were filled with brilliant crowds. All the ladies of Edinburgh were enchanted with "bonnie Prince Charlie," whose kind looks and graceful words made their fair cheeks blush with pleasure. In November having mustered 6,000 men, Charles invaded England by the western border, and after a siege of three days took Carlisle. But neither there nor at Manchester did the

Jacobites, as he had expected, flock around his standard. On the 4th of December he reached Derby and was within two days' march of London. But the Highlanders, prompt in raids but unaccustomed to regular war, were returning home with their plunder. Bickerings and open quarrels among their chiefs had hampered every movement of the army. On December 6th they forced the daring prince, who saw the prize almost within his grasp, to retreat, sorely against his will. But while he had been delaying at Edinburgh royal troops had been recalled from Flanders and were marshalled under the Duke of Cumberland. General Wade, whom the prince had evaded, was also marching to hem in the retreating force. After the prince crossed the border, he stopped to besiege Stirling. His drooping spirits were revived by his defeating at Falkirk in January, 1746, General Hawley, who had marched from Edinburgh to intercept his retreat. Unable to capture Stirling he resumed his march to the Highlands, where he took some forts and rested his weary troops. The Duke of Cumberland lay at Aberdeen until hostilities were resumed in April. The armies met on Culloden Moor, nine miles from Inverness, on April 19, 1746. The Pretender's little army was exhausted by a futile night march. After noon the royal guns opened on their ranks. The right wing of the Highlanders answered with a gallant charge, but were repulsed with a storm of grape and musketry. The MacDonalds on the left stood gloomily nursing their anger at being deprived of the post of honor on the right, and were cut down by scores. In less than an hour the battle was fought and won. The Duke of Cumberland was covered with infamy for his cruelty after the victory.

Charles Edward fled to the mountains. A reward of £30,000 was offered for his head. Accompanied by the faithful Ned Burke and a few other followers, he gained the western coast. For five months he wandered on foot, or cruised restlessly in open boats, often suffering from want, and relentlessly pursued by government spies. Disguised in women's clothes, and aided by a passport obtained by the devoted Flora MacDonald, he passed through Skye, and parted from her at Portree. Again he ventured on the mainland and found

refuge among some Jacobite freebooters. At last he learned that two French ships were waiting for him near the place of his first arrival in Scotland. Hastening thither, he embarked with speed. Though chased by English cruisers, he landed safely in Brittany. On his return to Paris he found that no more help was to be obtained from the French court. Cardinal Tencin once proposed that he should be supplied with French troops on condition that in the event of success Ireland should be ceded to France, but Charles replied: "No, Cardinal. All or nothing; no division." In 1747 the Pretender went to Spain, and afterwards to Prussia, seeking in vain for help. Baffled in his political schemes, he plunged eagerly into the gayeties of Parisian society, and shone as a hero for some years. He quarreled with his father and with his brother Henry when the latter became a cardinal. The treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle, concluded in October, 1748, required that every member of the House of Stuart should be expelled from France. But Charles forestalled its proclamation by an indignant protest against its injustice, and declared that he would not be bound by its provisions. As he obstinately refused to go, he was imprisoned for a week and then conducted to the French border. He lingered at Avignon until the French, urged on by the English, insisted on his departure. Then he disappeared from public view for years. But it is now known that he returned to the neighborhood of Paris. He resided for some time with the Duc de Bouillon, in the forest of Ardennes. In 1750, in 1752, and perhaps in 1754, he paid mysterious visits to England, and risked his safety in London. Finding his plots useless, he sank into confirmed profligacy and drunkenness. He wandered over Europe in disguise, alienating his friends and destroying the hopes of his party. On the death of his father in 1766, he repaired to Rome, but the Pope showed him no favor. His title to the throne of Great Britain was openly repudiated by the Great Powers. He was known as the Duke of Albany. In 1772 he was married to Princess Louise of Stolberg, then twenty years of age. After enduring his brutality for six years she had to take refuge in a convent. She afterwards accepted the attentions of the poet Alfieri, and on this account a formal separation

was effected. For a few years afterward Charles Edward lived in Florence, attended by the daughter of his former mistress. He died of apoplexy at Rome on January 31, 1788, and was buried in St. Peter's church.

In his youth Charles Edward displayed quick intelligence, prompt decision, and contempt of danger. His firmness of resolution degenerated afterwards into sullen obstinacy. His chivalrous promise altogether vanished. His friends were alienated by his refusal to send away his mistress, Miss Walkenshaw, who is said to have betrayed his plans. The English Jacobites long maintained the custom of drinking to the king over the water. The Scotch testified their affection for the lost cause by numerous spirited ballads, of which there are several collections. One of the best was edited by Charles Mackay in 1861.

Henry, the younger son of James II., born in 1722, took orders in the Roman Church and became Cardinal York. He died in 1807, the last male heir of the Stuart line. On a monument by Canova in St. Peter's church at Rome may be read three empty titles, not found in the roll of British kings—James III., Charles III., Henry IX.

Escape of Charles Edward Stuart. (1745.)

Notwithstanding the eagerness with which, after Culloden, the rebels were tracked and pursued, and the guard both of land and sea, several of their chiefs succeeded, after various concealments, privations and dangers, in effecting their escape. But where was he, the young and princely chief of this ill-fated enterprise—the new Charles of this second Worcester? His followers dismissed to seek safety as they could for themselves; he sometimes alone, sometimes with a single Highlander as his guide and companion; sometimes begirt with strange faces, of whose fidelity he had no assurance; a price set upon his head; hunted from mountain to island, and from island to mountain; pinched with famine, tossed by storms and unsheltered from the rains; his strength wasted, but his spirit still unbroken; such was now the object of so many long-cherished and lately towering hopes! In the five months of his weary wanderings—from April to September—almost every day might afford its own tale of hardship, danger and alarm. It is much to Charles' honor that, as one of his chance attendants

declares he used to say, "the fatigue and distresses he underwent signified nothing at all, because he was only a single person; but when he reflected upon the many brave fellows who suffered in his cause, that, he behooved to own, did strike him to the heart, and did sink very deep within him." But most of all entitled to praise appear the common Highlanders around him. Though in the course of these five months the secrets of his concealment became intrusted to several hundred persons, most of them poor and lowly, not one of them was ever tempted by the prize of £30,000 to break faith and betray the suppliant fugitive; and when destitute of other help and nearly, as it seemed, run to bay, he was saved by the generous self-devotion of a woman.

In the hope of finding a French ship to convey him, Charles had embarked, only eight days after Culloden, for that remote cluster of isles to which the common name of Long Island is applied. Driven from place to place by contrary storms and winds, and having sometimes no other food than oatmeal and water, he at length gained South Uist, where his wants were in some degree relieved by the elder Clanranald. But his course being tracked or suspected, a large body of militia and regular troops, to the number of two thousand men, landed on the island and commenced an eager search, while the shores were surrounded by small vessels of war. Concealment or escape seemed alike impossible, and so they must have proved but for Miss Flora Macdonald—a name, says Dr. Johnson, which will forever live in history. This young lady was then on a visit to Clanranald's family, and was the stepdaughter of a captain in the hostile militia which occupied the island. Being appealed to in Charles' behalf, she nobly undertook to save him at all hazards to herself. She obtained from her step-father a passport to proceed to Skye for herself, a man-servant and a maid, who was termed Betty Burke, the part of Betty to be played by the Chevalier. When Lady Clanranald and Flora sought him out, bringing with them a female dress, they found him alone in a little hut upon the shore, employed in roasting the heart of a sheep upon a wooden spit. They could not forbear from shedding tears at his desolate situation; but Charles observed, with a smile, that it would be well, perhaps, for all kings if they had to pass through such an ordeal as he was now enduring. On the same evening he took advantage of the passport, embarking in his new attire with Flora and a faithful Highlander, Neil MacEachan, who acted as

their servant. The dawn of the next day found them far at sea in their open boat, without any land in view; soon, however, the dark mountains of Skye rose on the horizon. Approaching that coast at Waternish, they were received with a volley of musketry from the soldiers stationed there; but none of the balls took effect, and the rowers, vigorously applying the oars, bore them away from that scene of danger, and enabled them to disembark on another point.

Charles was now in the country of Sir Alexander Macdonald, at first a waverer in the contest, but of late a decided foe. When the prudent chief saw the Jacobite cause decline he had been induced to levy his clan against it, and was now on the mainland in attendance on the Duke of Cumberland. Yet it was of his wife, Lady Margaret, a daughter of the Earl of Eglinton, that Flora determined to implore assistance, having no other resource, and knowing from herself the courageous pity of a female heart. Lady Margaret received the news with pain and surprise, but did not disappoint Flora's firm reliance; her own house was filled with militia officers, but she intrusted Charles, with earnest injunctions for his safety, to the charge of Macdonald of Kingsburgh, the kinsman and factor of her husband. As they walked to Kingsburgh's house, Charles still in woman's disguise, they had several streams to pass, and the prince held up his petticoats so high as to excite the surprise and laughter of some country people on the road. Being admonished by his attendants, he promised to take better care for the future, and accordingly, in passing the next stream allowed the skirts to hang down and float upon the water. "Your enemies," said Kingsburgh, "call you a Pretender; but if you be, I can tell you you are the worst of your trade I ever saw!" Next day, at Portree, Charles took leave of the noble-minded Flora with warm expressions of his gratitude, and passed over to the isle of Rasay, under the less inconvenient disguise of a male servant and the name of Lewis Caw. His preservers soon afterwards paid the penalty of their compassion, both Kingsburgh and Flora Macdonald being arrested and conveyed in custody, the former to Edinburgh, the latter to London. The conduct of Lady Margaret, likewise, was much inveighed against at court; but once, when it provoked some such censure from the Princess of Wales: "And would not you, madam," asked Frederick, with a generous spirit, "would not you, in like circumstances, have done the same? I hope—I am sure you would!" It was at the intercession, as it is said, of His

Royal Highness that Flora was released from prison after twelve months' confinement. A collection was made for her among the Jacobite ladies in London to the amount of nearly £1500. She then married Kingsburgh's son, and many years afterwards went with him to North America; but both returned during the Civil War [the American Revolution], and died in their native Isle of Skye.

From Rasay, Charles made his way to the mainland, where he lay for two days cooped up within a line of sentinels, who crossed each other upon their posts, so that he could only crouch among the heather, without daring to light a fire or to dress his food. From this new danger he at length escaped by creeping at night down a narrow glen, the bed of a winter stream, between two of the stations. Another vicissitude in his wanderings brought him to a mountain cave, where seven robbers had taken their abode; and with these men he remained for nearly three weeks. Fierce and lawless as they were, they never thought for an instant of earning "the price of blood;" on the contrary, they most earnestly applied themselves to secure his safety and to supply his wants. Sometimes they used singly and in various disguises to repair to the neighboring Fort Augustus and obtain for Charles a newspaper or the current reports of the day. On one occasion they brought back to the prince, with much exultation, the choicest dainty they had ever heard of—a pennyworth of gingerbread.

On leaving these generous outlaws, and after other perils and adventures, Charles effected a junction with his faithful adherents, Cluny and Lochiel, who was lame from his wound. There he found a rude plenty to which he had long been unused. "Now, gentlemen, I live like a prince," cried he, on his first arrival, as he eagerly devoured some collops out of a saucepan with a silver spoon. For some time they resided in a singular retreat, called the Cage, on the side of Mount Benalder; it was concealed by a close thicket, and half suspended in the air. At this place Charles received the intelligence that two French vessels, sent out expressly for his deliverance, under the direction of Colonel Warren, of Dillon's regiment, and with that officer on board, had anchored in Lochnanuagh. Immediately setting off for that place, but traveling only by night, he embarked, on the 20th of September, attended by Lochiel, Colonel Ray Stuart and about one hundred other persons, who had gathered at the news.

It was the very same spot where Charles disembarked fourteen months before; but how changed since that time both his fate and his feelings! With what different emotions must he have gazed upon those desolate mountains, when stepping from his ship in the ardor of hope and coming victory; and now, when he saw them fade away in the blue distance, and bade them an everlasting farewell. Rapidly did his vessel bear him from the Scottish shores; concealed by a fog, he sailed through the midst of the English fleet; and he safely landed at the little port of Roscoff, near Morlaix, on the 29th of September. He went, but not with him departed his remembrance from the Highlanders. For years and years did his name continue enshrined in their hearts and familiar to their tongues, their plaintive ditties resounding with his exploits and inviting his return. Again in these strains do they declare themselves ready to risk life and fortune for his cause, and even maternal fondness—the strongest, perhaps, of all human feelings—yields to the passionate devotion to "Prince Charlie."—LORD MAHON.

LOCHIEL'S WARNING.

LOCHIEL was chief of the warlike clan of the Camerons when Charles Edward, sought to recover the throne for his father. Lochiel was devoted to the cause of the exiled king, and had paramount influence throughout the Highlands. In his own sober judgment that cause was hopeless. He did all he could to dissuade bonny Prince Charlie from the enterprise. But when his romantic young master persisted in his attempt, the loyal chieftain exclaimed, "I will share the fate of my prince, and so shall every man over whom nature or fortune has given me any power." The poet Campbell represents a Highland wizard as depicting prophetically the disasters of Culloden in order to warn Lochiel against venturing into conflict.

Wizard.—Lochiel! Lochiel! beware of the day
When the Lowlands shall meet thee in battle array!
For a field of the dead rushes red on my sight,
And the clans of Culloden are scattered in flight.
They rally, they bleed for their country and crown;
Woe, woe to the riders that trample them down!
Proud Cumberland prances, insulting the slain,
And their hoof-beaten bosoms are trod to the plain.
But hark! through the fast-flashing lightning of war,
What steed to the desert flies frantic and far?
'Tis thine, oh Glenullin! whose bride shall await,

Like a love-lighted watch-fire, all night at the gate.
A steed comes at morning: no rider is there;
But its bridle is red with the sign of despair.
Weep, Albin! to death and captivity led!
Oh weep! but thy tears cannot number the dead:
For a merciless sword on Culloden shall wave,
Culloden! that reeks with the blood of the brave.

Lochiel. — Go, preach to the coward, thou death-telling seer!
Or, if gory Culloden so dreadful appear,
Draw, dotard, around thy old wavering sight
This mantle, to cover the phantoms of fright.

Wizard.—Ha! laugh'st thou, Lochiel, my vision to scorn?
Proud bird of the mountain, thy plume shall be torn!
Say, rush'd the bold eagle exultingly forth,
From his home in the dark rolling clouds of the north?
Lo! the death-shot of foeman outspeeding, he rode
Companionlesss, bearing destruction abroad;
But down let him stoop from his havoc on high!
Ah! home let him speed, for the spoiler is nigh.
Why flames the far summit? Why shoot to the blast
Those embers, like stars from the firmament cast?
'Tis the fire-shower of ruin, all dreadfully driven
From his eyrie, that beacons the darkness of heaven.
Oh, crested Lochiel! the peerless in might,
Whose banners arise on the battlement's height,
Heaven's fire is around thee, to blast and to burn;
Return to thy dwelling! all lonely return!
For the blackness of ashes shall mark where it stood,
And a wild mother scream o'er her famishing brood.

Lochiel. — False Wizard, avaunt! I have marshall'd my clan;
Their swords are a thousand, their bosoms are one!
They are true to the last of their blood and their breath,
And like reapers descend to the harvest of death.
Then welcome be Cumberland's steed to the shock!
Let him dash his proud foam like a wave on the rock!
But woe to his kindred, and woe to his cause,
When Albin his claymore indignantly draws;
When her bonneted chieftains to victory crowd,
Clanranald the dauntless, and Moray the proud,
All plaided and plumed in their tartan array—

Wizard.—Lochiel! Lochiel! beware of the day!
For dark and despairing, my sight I may seal,
But man cannot cover what God would reveal;
'Tis the sunset of life gives me mystical lore,
And coming events cast their shadows before.
I tell thee, Culloden's dread echoes shall ring
With the bloodhounds that bark for thy fugitive king.
Lo! anointed by heaven with vials of wrath,
Behold, when he flies on his desolate path!
Now in darkness and billows he sweeps from my sight:
Rise, rise! ye wild tempests, and cover his flight!
'Tis finished. Their thunders are hush'd on the moors.
Culloden is lost, and my country deplores.
But where is the iron-bound prisoner? Where?
For the red eye of battle is shut in despair,
Say, mounts he the ocean wave, banish'd, forlorn,
Like a limb from his country cast bleeding and torn?
Ah, no! for a darker departure is near;
The war-drum is muffled, and black is the bier;
His death-bell is tolling: oh! mercy, dispel
Yon sight, that it freezes my spirit to tell!
Life flutters convulsed in his quivering limbs,
And his blood-streaming nostril in agony swims.
Accursed be the fagots that blaze at his feet,
Where his heart shall be thrown, ere it ceases to beat,
With the smoke of its ashes to poison the gale.

Lochiel.—Down, soothless insulter! I trust not the tale:
For never shall Albin a destiny meet
So black with dishonor, so foul with retreat,
Though my perishing ranks should be strew'd in their gore,
Like ocean weeds heap'd on the surf-beaten shore,
Lochiel, untainted by flight or by chains,
While the kindling of life in his bosom remains,
Shall victor exult, or in death be laid low,
With his back to the field, and his feet to the foe!
And leaving in battle no blot on his name,
Look proudly to heaven from the death-bed of fame.

THOMAS CAMPBELL.

FRANCIS OF ASSISI.

FRANCIS OF ASSISI, the founder of the great Franciscan religious order, was one of the most remarkable men of the Middle Ages. When the Church promptly canonized him, this was simply a formal recognition of an evident fact. The keynote of his character was absolute self-renunciation; his life was a continual earnest attempt to present again, as far as human power could avail, the Divine life upon earth. He was emphatically the saint of the people. To this day, after seven centuries, the name, the work, the words, and the long suffering of this humble, poetic saint, live in the hearts of poor and devout Italians. Protestant historians also pronounce St. Francis the most blameless and gentle of all saints.

Francis was born at Assisi, in the province of Perugia, Italy, in 1182. His father, Bernardone, was a trader in goods which he purchased in the South of France, whither he made frequent journeys. The son was born during one of these journeys, and the father therefore called him Francesco, though the mother had wished to name him Giovanni, or John. The boy was a merry-hearted, careless fellow, and received but little instruction. As he grew up he was gay and prodigal, showed fondness for fine clothes, and eagerly devoted himself to military exercises. From his tastes his father had expectations for him of a successful courtly career. But at the age

of twenty-five the gay Francis was seized with a severe illness. Reflection turned his mind from earthly things, and when he recovered he was a changed man. Henceforth he held in contempt what he had formerly prized and loved. There awoke in him a spirit of self-sacrifice, of entire devotion to others. The sick and the poor became the objects of his attention. He even sought out lepers, ministered to their wants and kissed them. He made a pilgrimage to Rome, cast all that he had on the altar of St. Peter's and joined a troop of beggars. His father was astonished and indignant at his conduct. The son persisted in his course, and after a time there was an open rupture between them.

In the neighborhood of Assisi there was a ruined chapel of St. Damian. Thither the enthusiast went frequently for prayer and meditation. As he sat there one day he heard a voice, "Francis, thou seest that my house is in ruins. Go and restore it for me." With the words ringing in his ears, he returned home, saddled a horse, took a bale of his father's goods, went to Foligno, sold horse and goods, hastened to the chapel of St. Damian and cast on its altar the money for the restoration of the church. The irate father beat and imprisoned the son, whom he thought insane; but the tender-hearted mother released him. Francis was summoned before a magistrate to restore the goods he had taken, and to renounce his patrimonial rights. The bishop, before whom the case finally came, recognized the young man's vocation to a religious life, but ordered him to restore the value of the goods to his father. Then the money was found lying neglected in the chapel. When it was handed to the father Francis renounced his inheritance before the bishop, and declared himself a religious mendicant. "Henceforth," he said, "I have but one Father, Him that is in Heaven." The people who had eagerly watched the turns of the case were moved to tears, and the bishop took Francis under his direction.

Francis went to live in a cell outside the town near a little church, commonly called the Portiuncula. The crisis of the long struggle through which he passed came one day when at this church he was overpowered with agitation, and saw in the priest celebrating Mass Jesus himself, and heard him say-

ing: "Wherever ye go, preach, saying, 'The kingdom of heaven is at hand.' Heal the sick, cleanse the lepers, cast out devils. Freely ye have received, freely give. Provide neither gold nor silver nor brass in your purses, nor scrip for your journey, nor two coats nor shoes nor staves; for the laborer is worthy of his hire." It was in the year 1208 that Francis undertook his new mission. He freely embraced poverty, which he called his bride. The principle which guided him was not seclusion in the cloister, but action among the needy. In meekness and humility he discharged the most menial offices. His raiment was finally reduced to a single coarse tunic, girt with a cord. He resolved to carry the banner of poverty and sacrifice to the assault of every fortress of sin. He sought to reproduce the life of Jesus by going about doing good and preaching the Gospel.

Gradually there gathered around his cell a band of disciples, for whom when there were but seven he drew up a rule in 1210. He said to them: "Fear not because you are small and seem foolish. Have confidence in the Lord, who has vanquished the world. The Lord will make us a great people even to the ends of earth." He sent them forth two by two, to preach peace and patience and relieve the distressed. To give the order influence the sanction of the Pope must be obtained. Francis therefore went to Rome and presented himself to Pope Innocent III. as he was walking on the terrace of the Lateran. The startled pontiff dismissed the meanly-clad stranger with pity and contempt. But the same night he had a vision of the marvelous growth of a palm-tree. As he pondered on it, he recalled the petition of the poor man whom he had dismissed. Francis was sought out. His project was submitted to the judgment of the Vatican, and the desired sanction was formally bestowed. The distinctive feature of the new brotherhood was the vow of poverty. The possession of property was repudiated for the order as well as for its individual members. Soon numbers crowded to join the ranks of the followers of Francis. A young lady of the neighborhood named Clara was attracted by the saint's preaching, and left her home to join the order. She was placed in a female convent, and later Francis established the Sisterhood of Poor

Claras, or Clarisses, which has been almost as beneficial as that of the Franciscans.

The customary preaching of that age was scholastic, subtile, and declamatory. In contrast with this, Francis spoke clearly, practically, and incisively. Though what he said was not especially new, his ardent conviction touched the heart and pricked the conscience. So effectual was his preaching that whole populations are said to have wished to devote themselves to consecrated poverty. But Francis, fearing that many had not full devotion or strength for complete self-sacrifice, arranged, in 1221, an order of Tertiaries, or Brethren of Penitence, for which the rule was less strict. The Tertiaries were allowed to retain their social position and former employments, but were required to abstain from dissipation and engage in works of charity. The missionary nature of the whole undertaking was shown in the founder's journey to Illyria, to Spain, and the East. He was for a time in the Holy Land, where he gained multitudes of disciples. He preached to Mohammedans, and even gained access to the Sultan, to whom he proclaimed the gospel of poverty.

An atmosphere of legend and miracle surrounds this mediæval apostle of altruism. It is impossible now to disentangle the legendary thread of the supernatural from its more credible texture. Yet apart from his saintly nature, evidenced by miracles, his personal character stands out clear and strong. His self-sacrificing spirit, his fascinating personal influence, his ardor, his eagerness to do good are manifest in all his works. His passionate love of living things extended from his fellow-men to the birds and beasts, to sheep and hares and even to wolves. When the birds sang he said, "Our sisters, the birds, are praising God." His love of nature found expression in the "Song of the Creation," the earliest metrical specimen of the Italian language. In him the troubadour inspiration was transformed into a spiritual minstrelsy, imperfect in form, but a prelude and harbinger to the great work of Dante.

With regard to miraculous manifestations, the most noted is his receiving on hands and feet the *stigmata* or wounds of our Lord. This is said to have occurred while he was pray-

ing on September 17, 1224. It is also asserted that these supernatural marks were found on the body of the mystic sufferer after his death. Even to the end Francis remained true to his profession. Feeling death approaching, he had himself placed upon the bare ground, laying aside his raiment, and thus presented himself before God, praising him for "our sister, the death of the body." On the 4th of October, 1226, the mortal frame, worn out with the consuming zeal and racked by long suffering, yielded its faithful, immortal soul to its Maker. The brothers were still gazing on his face, when a flock of larks alighted on the thatch of his cell as if to salute the soul which had departed.

On July 26, 1228, Pope Gregory IX. came from Rome to Assisi to preside over the canonization and to lay the first stone of the new church dedicated to St. Francis. The first biography of the saint was written three years after his death by Thomas of Celano. Another by three of his companions was written in 1247; and still another by Bonaventura, who had become general of the order, in 1263. In the nineteenth century there have been several notable biographies; one in English being by Mrs. M. W. Oliphant, while the French life by P. Sabatier has been translated and has received the highest commendation.

It was hardly to be expected that the religious movement which St. Francis had started could be permanently kept up to the high standard which he had fixed for it. There were signs of decadence even during his life, and they filled his heart with grief. In his will he warned the brothers against the perils of lax observance of his rules. But neither the example of his life nor the force of his dying injunction could prevent a marked degeneration of the order. Yet there were frequent attempts at reformation and renewal of the pristine zeal. As the founder had predicted, the order shed its benign influence on French, Germans, Spaniards and English, as well as his native Italy.

The Franciscan Order Established.

The year 1223 had arrived before Francis actually began the work of preparing his Rule for final submission to the Pope.

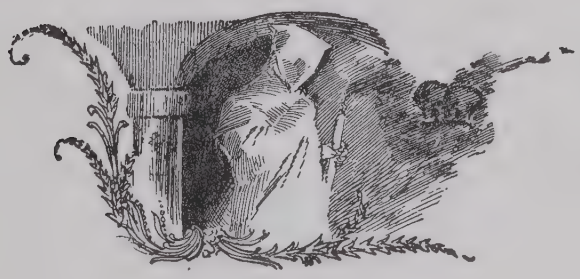
Besides the necessities of the missionaries, it is possible that the death of Pietro de Catanio, and the reappointment of Elias to the office of Vicar, stimulated him to action. After the experience of the past, Francis must have felt that, notwithstanding the high qualifications of Elias, it was scarcely safe to trust him without taking full precaution against any further innovation upon the Rule. There seems even ground for believing that some kind of struggle took place between them at this important crisis. The legend, which seems to be inspired by a curious reminiscence of the history of Moses on a similar though much more momentous occasion, informs us that Francis went up into a mountain apart, to ponder the ancient Rule which he had drawn up in the beginning of the Order, and to reduce it to shorter size and more practical efficacy. When he had completed this work, he descended from his hill, and, giving the manuscript to his vicar, went about his ordinary occupations. After a few days, however, the vicar announced that he had lost it, upon which the patient Francis, without any reproof of his carelessness, returned once more to the mountain, where, fasting upon bread and water, he once more prepared and abridged the Rule.

Seeing that he could not succeed by stealth, Elias now took open means to nullify the wishes of his master. We are told that he collected a number of the Provincial ministers, and represented to them that now was the moment to make a stand against the severity of this final Rule by which they were to be bound. He chose for this purpose men whom he knew to be on his own side, and encouraged them to rebellion. When they had strengthened each other's courage by mutual representations of the necessity, Elias, at length, wound them up to the point of following Francis to the mountain, to remonstrate with him. Bold as he was, he had not courage enough to take this office upon him, as his brethren desired, by himself, and it is evident that the courage of all must have ebbed as they approached the solitude in which Francis mused and prayed. When they came to where he was, under some leafy hut — his wonted shelter — he called to Elias in his surprise. "What would these brethren?" he asked of the vicar, who was responsible for them. Elias, moved by pride and fear, made answer, with a sudden outburst, "These are ministers of the Order, who, hearing that you are making a new Rule, and fearing that you would make it too hard for them, have come to say and protest that they cannot consent to be bound by it: make it for yourself, and not for them."

The answer of Francis to this extraordinary and sudden rebellion was of the strangest kind. Instead of replying to the speaker, or showing any surprise at his address, "The blessed father," we are told, "raised his face to heaven, and said, 'Lord, did I not say to Thee, that they would not believe me?'" Then all who were present heard the voice of Christ answer in the air, 'Francis, in thy Rule there is nothing of thine, but all is mine that is therein; and I will that it should be observed literally, literally, literally, without gloss, without gloss, without gloss.' But Christ added, 'I know what human weakness is capable of, and how much it is able to bear. Let him who will not observe the Rule leave the order.' Then the blessed Francis, turning to the brethren, said, 'Do you hear?—do you hear? Would you have this repeated to you again?' Then the ministers, confessing their sins, retired, confused and afraid."

The next thing to be done was to secure final authorization for this finally perfected document. And accordingly, in the winter of the year 1223, Francis is once more at Rome about this important business. He went, as was his wont, to Cardinal Ugolino, to whose suggestion, some writers tell us, this step was owing. Ugolino, no doubt, had heard his friend preach on many occasions; he knew his power to touch the hearts of his hearers, and carry away all opposition by the charm of his personal influence. That influence had moved all kinds of people, from the consequential Umbrian nobles, not naturally disposed to yield much reverence to the son of Pietro Bernardone, the shopkeeper of Assisi, to the Sultan in his eastern camp; and no means could be more likely to propitiate Pope Honorius, the successor of Innocent III., than to produce the great orator before him, and let his eloquence and simplicity work their due effect upon the mind of the Pope. Accordingly, the Cardinal, like the friendly patron and well-instructed man of the world he was, set about the matter with infinite pains and trouble. He procured the license to preach with sufficient ease, but the training of the preacher was of still more importance. He succeeded in persuading Francis to compose, and commit carefully to memory, an elaborate sermon. One can understand the intense excitement and anxiety, always tinctured with a sense of genial superiority, which were in Ugolino's mind when he found his plans successful, and took his place among the rest of the cardinals to hear the wandering apostle. Francis himself rose with unwonted uneasiness. Probably the imposing character of the audience would not have

moved him, had he been left to himself; but this is by no means certain; for we are told that throughout his career it happened to him, from time to time, so far to fail in powers of mind or sympathy with his hearers, that after a few minutes' hesitation, finding himself unable to proceed, he would give them his blessing and send the disappointed crowd away. At this all-important moment the same difficulty seized him. He hesitated; he trembled; he moved uneasily about his platform or pulpit, almost as if he were dancing, says the chronicler, in the height of his nervous excitement. Cardinal Ugolino, sitting by, looked on with who can tell what sympathetic thrills of shame and terror. But this preface of alarm lasted but a few moments. Francis dismissed from his mind his fine sermon which he had learned by heart, and, after a momentary pause, resumed with a rush and flow of natural eloquence. He spoke by the Holy Ghost, say the admiring historians, themselves still trembling over the closeness of the escape. "His simplicity moved no one to laughter," they tell us earnestly, "but extorted sighs of penitence even from that unaccustomed audience." Honorius, it is said, had been prejudiced against him; but no prejudice could stand before his genuine eloquence, and the noble and candid simplicity of nature which shone through him. Accordingly on the 29th of November, the Order was sanctioned in full form, by a bull; and letters were sent out to all the provinces of Christendom, recommending the monasteries of the Brothers Minor to the good graces of the cardinals and bishops in distant parts.



PAOLO SARPI.

FOUNDED by refugees in the fifth century, Venice was one of the powers of Europe from the thirteenth to the eighteenth century. Its growth was due not to the genius or labors of one man, but to the united efforts of a succession of aristocratic merchants and to its favorable position as an emporium of the trade with the East. Paolo Sarpi has been called the greatest of the Venetians, but he belongs to the age of the island city's decline rather than of its glory. He was a churchman, but his activity was that of a statesman, maintaining the rights of the Republic against the claims of the Pope. He was distinguished in science, and won the praise of Galileo, who called him "my father and my master." Yet he is best known to the world as the incomparable historian of the Council of Trent.

Though usually called Paolo Sarpi, he bore in childhood the name Pietro Sarpi. He was born at Venice August 14, 1552, the son of a small trader, and was early left an orphan. The boy was quiet, serious, fond of study and gifted with a remarkable memory. At the age of thirteen in spite of the opposition of relatives, he joined the order of the Servites, which had been founded at Florence in 1233, to foster devotion to the Virgin Mary. His contemporaries usually mentioned him as Paolo Servita. His ability, shown in a theological disputation in 1570, won the regard of the Duke of Mantua, who made him court theologian. During the four

years spent there, his chief studies were mathematics and Oriental languages. From Mantua Sarpi passed to Milan, where he enjoyed the favor of Cardinal Borromeo, and then returned to Venice to be professor of philosophy in the Servite convent. In 1579 he was sent to Rome on business connected with the reform of his order. Here during nine years he came into close contact with Popes Gregory XIII. and Sixtus V., and all the leaders in ecclesiastical affairs. He was thus enabled to form an accurate judgment of the papacy and its relations to secular governments.

In 1588 Sarpi returned to Venice. His time was chiefly devoted to mathematical and other studies. Attempts were made to procure a bishopric for the learned theologian, but they were thwarted through jealous reports of his extensive correspondence with scientific heretics, among whom were Lord Bacon and William Harvey. In 1605 Paul V. became Pope, and soon showed his determination to assert the papal prerogative. The nuncio in January, 1606, presented a brief demanding the abrogation of the ancient laws of Venice, which put ecclesiastical affairs under the supervision or control of the State. In the controversy which ensued Sarpi became canonist and theological counsellor to the republic. In April the Pope excommunicated the Venetians and laid their territory under an interdict. In reply Sarpi published the opinions of church doctors on the temporal power of the Pope, and engaged in a war of pamphlets with Cardinal Bellarmine. The practical result was a universal belief that the Pope had no right to employ spiritual censures in temporal affairs. Hence most of the Venetian clergy, and Sarpi among them, disregarded the interdict and performed their functions as usual. The Catholic powers refused to take part in the quarrel. At the end of a year a compromise was effected through the mediation of France in which the rights of the republic were conceded. Meantime it had been demonstrated to the world that papal excommunications and interdicts had lost that moral force which had been so potent in the Middle Ages. Venice rewarded her champion by making him state counsellor in jurisprudence and granting him liberty of access to the archives. These honors exasperated his enemies. On October

5th, as he passed from the public hall to his convent assassins attacked him and left him for dead. Sarpi recovered from his grievous wounds. The assassins took refuge in the Roman territories, where their chief declared that he had been moved to the deed by his zeal for the Church.

Sarpi continued his studies in his cloister. In 1610 he published a "History of Ecclesiastical Benefices," exposing the abuses which had grown up in the Church. It was followed by a similar work denying the right of asylum claimed for churches. Another work treated the history of the Inquisition in Venice. Finally in 1619 his literary monument, the "History of the Council of Trent," was printed at London under the name of Pietro Soave Polano. This, however, was merely an exact anagram of Paolo Sarpi Veneto. The materials for this notable history had been gathered during Sarpi's residence in Milan and Rome, where he had frequent conversations with those who participated in the famous council. It has been highly praised by Gibbon and Ranke. The chief criticism upon it is that it is partisan, rather than judicial. Sarpi never acknowledged the authorship. He continued to labor for his country until his death on January 15, 1623. He died in the humble monk's cell, from which he had gone daily for fifteen years to the Doge's palace as consultor of the Republic. In the next year his "History of the Interdict" was printed at Venice, though Lyons was put on the title page. His memoirs on state affairs remain in the Venetian archives, but many of his unpublished writings have been destroyed by fire.

The Venetian Republic gratefully decreed that a monument to his name and fame should be erected in Venice, but the decree stood for three centuries on the statute book unexecuted, in spite of various efforts of patriotic citizens, to have it realized. At last on September 20, 1892, a statue to Fra Paolo was unveiled in his native city. His body had found no secure resting place, but was hidden here or there from his enemies, until now it rests in a little church on the island of San Michele.

Lord Macaulay called Sarpi "my favorite modern historian." The Italian Botta has declared, "This 'History of the

Tridentine Council' is one of most manly and robust works that were ever produced by human genius. Flowers and ornaments it has none. From the beginning to the close there reigns a complete austerity, and yet such is the delight of reading it, that although it treats of dry material, no one who takes it up can lay it down till he has reached the end."

Sarpi, though an ecclesiastic, concealed his religious views. He was in favor of tolerating Protestant worship at Venice, but did not exert himself for that purpose. His moral character was spotless. Eminent as a scholar, statesman and patriot, he was also distinguished by his charity and magnanimity. Mrs. Oliphant, in her "Makers of Venice," pronounces him "a personage more grave than great, a figure unique in the midst of this ever-animated, stormy and restless race."

The Prohibition of Books by the Church.

(From Sarpi's "History of the Council of Trent.")

It is necessary to relate the beginning of the prohibition of books, and with what progress it had arrived at the state in which it then was, and what new order was then taken. In the Church of the Martyrs there was no ecclesiastical prohibition, though some godly men made the reading of bad books a matter of conscience, for fear of offending against one of the three points of the law of God: to avoid the contagion of evil; not to expose oneself to temptation without necessity or profit; and not to spend time vainly.

These laws being natural do always remain, and should oblige us to be on our guard against reading bad books, even though there were no ecclesiastical law on the subject. But these considerations ceasing, we have the example of Dionysius, Bishop of Alexandria, a famous doctor, who, about A. D. 240, being reprimanded by his priests, and troubled about these matters, had a vision that he should read all books, because he was able to judge of them. Yet they thought there was greater danger in the books of the Gentiles than of the heretics, the reading of which was more abhorred and censured because it was more used by Christian doctors from their vanity of learning eloquence. For this cause St. Jerome, either in a vision, or in sleep, was beaten by the devil.

About 400 A. D. a Council of Carthage forbade the reading of

books of the Gentiles, but allowed reading the books of the heretics, the decree whereof is among the canons collected by Gratian. This was the first prohibition by way of canon; but there are others by counsel of the Fathers, to be regulated by the law of God already recited. The books of heretics containing doctrine condemned by Councils were often forbidden by the emperors for the sake of good government. Thus, Constantine forbade the books of Arius; Arcadius, those of the Eunomians and Manichees; Theodosius, those of Nestorius; Martin, those of the Eutycheans; and in Spain, the King Ricaredus, those of the Arians. It was sufficient for the Councils and Bishops to show what books contained condemned or apocryphal doctrine. So did Gelasius in the year 494, and went no further, leaving it to the conscience of every one to avoid them, or read them to a good end. After the year 800, the Popes assumed a great part of the political government, and caused the books whose authors they condemned, to be burned, and forbade the reading of them. Nevertheless, we find but few books forbidden in this way until this age. A general prohibition of reading books containing the doctrines of heretics, or of persons suspected of heresies, upon pain of excommunication, without any further sentence, was not used. Martin V., in a bull, excommunicates all the sects of heretics, especially Wiclitites and Hussites, not mentioning those who read their books, though many of them were circulated.

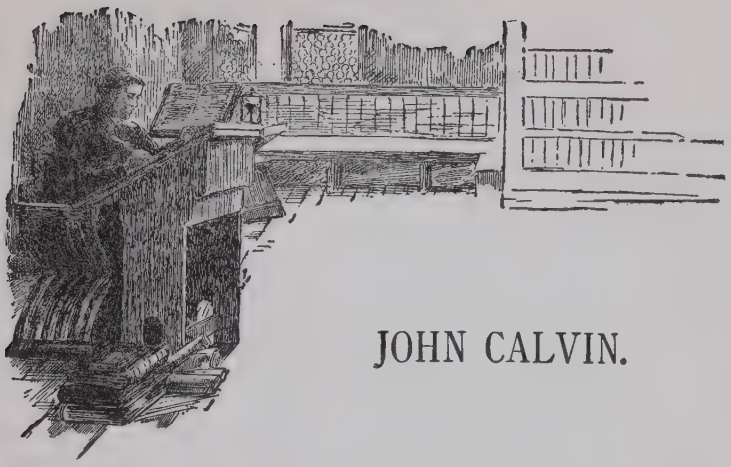
Pope Leo X., in condemning Luther, forbade all his books on pain of excommunication. The Pope following in the bull called "*In Cœna*," having condemned and excommunicated all heretics, excommunicated also those who read their books, and in other bulls against heretics in general, thundered the same censures against the readers of their books. This rather bred a confusion. For the heretics not being condemned by name, one was to judge of the books more by the quality of the doctrine than by the name of the authors, wherein divers men being of divers opinions, many scruples of conscience arose. The Inquisitors being more diligent, made catalogues of those whom they knew, which not being brought together for comparison, were not sufficient to remove the difficulty. Philip, King of Spain, was the first to give a more convenient form in the year 1558, by making a law that the catalogue of books prohibited by the Inquisition should be printed. Following this example, Pope Paul IV. also ordained that an Index should be composed by that office, and printed; and thus in the year 1559 they proceeded

many steps farther than they had formerly done, and laid the foundations to maintain and make great the authority of the Court of Rome, by depriving men of that knowledge which is necessary to save them from usurpations. Until that time they contained themselves within the terms of the books of the heretics, nor was any book forbidden if the author was not condemned.

This Index was divided into three parts. The first contains the names of those, all of whose works, of whatsoever argument, though profane, are forbidden, and in this number are placed not only those who have professed doctrine contrary to that of Rome, but many also who lived and died in the profession of it. The second contains the names of the books which are particularly condemned, others by the same authors not being condemned. In the third, some books are condemned without a name, but only by a general rule, that all those are forbidden which do not bear the names of the authors, written after the year 1519, and many authors and books are condemned which for three hundred, two hundred, and one hundred years, have been commonly read by the learned in the Church of Rome, with the knowledge, and without the contradiction of the Popes of those times; and among the moderns, some of those that were printed in Italy, even in Rome, with the approbation of the Inquisition, and allowed also by the Briefs of the Pope himself, are forbidden. Such are the "Annotations" of Erasmus upon the New Testament; which Leo X., having read, approved by his Brief dated Rome, September 10th, 1518. But it is matter for consideration above all, that under color of faith and religion, books are prohibited and condemned with the same severity as the authority of princes and temporal magistrates is defended from the usurpations of the clergy, and that of Councils and Bishops from the usurpations of the Court of Rome, in which hypocrisies or tyrannies are manifested, by which the people, under pretence of religion, are deceived. In fine, a better strategy was never found, than to use religion to make men insensible.

The Inquisition went so far that it made a catalogue of sixty-two printers, and prohibited all books printed by them, of whatsoever author, art or language; with an addition of still more weight; that is, "and books printed by such printers as have printed books of heretics," so that there scarcely remained a book to be read. And for the height of rigor, the prohibition of any book whatsoever contained in that catalogue, was upon pain of

excommunication, (release from which was reserved to the Pope,) deprivation and incapacity of offices and benefices, perpetual infamy, and other arbitrary punishments. Concerning this severity remonstrance was made to this Pope Pius IV., who referred the Index and the whole matter to the Council.—PAOLO SARPI.



JOHN CALVIN.

SECOND to Luther as a leader of the Reformation of the sixteenth century is John Calvin, the theologian of Geneva. A Frenchman of excellent education, he lacked the geniality and warmth of the Saxon Reformer, but excelled him in logical keenness and organizing capacity. He became the leading spirit in the Genevese republic, and the inspirer of democratic movements in Western Europe, as well as the framer of a system of doctrine and church government which has spread over the Protestant world. His name and system still evoke strong denunciations from those who unconsciously owe their freedom of opinion to the courage and sacrifices of his followers.

John Calvin was born on July 10, 1509, at Noyon in Picardy, sixty-seven miles from Paris. The family name is usually given as Cauvin or Caulvin, but the Reformer in his French letters signs himself "Jean Calvin." His father, Gerard Cauvin, was a notary and secretary to the bishop of Noyon. His mother, Jeanne Le Franc, was a devout Catholic, inclined to asceticism. John, their second son, was at first intended for the church and early received the tonsure. At the age of twelve a benefice in the cathedral of Noyon was assigned him, and at eighteen, a curacy. The income from these sources defrayed the expenses of his education. While he was pursuing his studies at the University of Paris, Pierre Robert Olivetan, a fellow-townsman, imparted to him new

views of religion which he had obtained while translating the Bible into French. Calvin's father now wished the son to study law, and therefore the young man went to Orleans and Bourges. Here he learned Greek as well as jurisprudence. On his father's death, in 1532, he returned to Paris, and having abandoned the intention of entering the priesthood, resigned the benefices from which his support had been derived. His first publication was a Latin commentary on Seneca's "De Clementia," which brought him honor, but left him in debt. In 1533, according to his own statement, he was converted to the Reformed faith, though no particulars are given. He was involved in trouble when he assisted Nicholas Cop, newly-elected rector of the University of Paris, in preparing his inaugural address. The Sorbonne condemned its Lutheran doctrine, and both Cop and Calvin fled from Paris. Francis I. had now determined on the persecution of heretics, and proclaimed his motto, "*Un roi, un loi, un foi*" (One king, one law, one faith). Calvin wandered from place to place. For several months he was harbored by Louis du Tillet, Canon of Angoulême. He now began to preach, and went as far as Poictiers, meeting with considerable favor. He also visited Margaret of Angoulême, Queen of Navarre, whose palace at Nerac had become a refuge for men of ability with leaning to Reform. In 1534 Calvin retired from Paris to Basle, where he occupied himself with his exposition of the Reformed faith, intended for King Francis I. The king, desiring to secure the favor of the German Protestant princes, had asserted that those who were persecuted in his realms were not Lutherans, but Anabaptists and sedition-mongers. Calvin's "Institutes of the Christian Religion" was a complete confession of their faith, and was accompanied by a noble letter to the king, one of the earliest examples of classic French prose. The earliest Latin edition of the "Institutes" appeared anonymously in 1536, and the earliest French in 1540. The author was but twenty-five years of age at the time of its composition. Though the work was afterwards enlarged, there is no indication of essential change in any of its views. It was quickly translated into almost all modern languages. It is classed among the

great works which at different epochs have revolutionized human thought.

Calvin went to Italy and was received with distinction by the Duchess of Ferrara, who gave asylum to learned fugitives from persecution. He returned to France in 1536 to arrange his affairs before settling in Basle, where he purposed to devote himself to study. On account of the disturbed state of the country he had to take the route through Geneva. Here the Reformed religion had succeeded in planting its standard. Farel, Viret and other leaders earnestly entreated Calvin to assist their work. When he pleaded that he wished time for self-culture, Farel exclaimed, "I tell you in answer to this pretence of your studies, in the name of Almighty God, that if you will not devote yourself with us to this work of the Lord, the Lord will curse you as one seeking not Christ so much as himself." Overcome by this "formidable obtestation," as he afterwards called it, Calvin consented to remain in Geneva, and was appointed teacher of theology. He was also elected preacher by the magistrates, but did not accept the office until it had been repeatedly pressed upon him.

Calvin found the people of Geneva but slightly acquainted with the principles of the Reformed faith, and not disposed to change their practice. He, therefore, in company with Farel, drew up a confession of faith and form of church government in twenty-one articles, which the citizens were summoned, in squads of ten, to accept under oath. This was the basis of his theocratic republic; Church and State were identified in their members. For the children schools were established, at which attendance was enforced, and a catechism prepared. There was some trouble from Anabaptist teachers, who were silenced at a disputation in 1537, and again from sticklers for orthodoxy who clamored for the Athanasian Creed. But the chief difficulty lay in the simplicity of the ritual, the strict moral discipline, and the sumptuary regulations imposed on the people. When their enthusiasm had cooled, they began to resent the innovations on their mode of life. A reactionary public assembly decided that both Farel and Calvin should be expelled from the city. They went to Berne and thence to Zurich, where a synod of Swiss pastors had been convened.

Here they pleaded their cause and expressed their willingness to make certain concessions to the demands of the people. The synod interceded for their restoration, but in vain.

Calvin, therefore, went to Strasburg, where he preached in the French church and lectured on theology. His reputation now well established attracted Huguenots from various parts of France; some were young men wishing to study under the famous master, others men of mature age and literary attainments. He attended conventions of Reformed pastors at Frankfort and other German cities, and met Melanchthon, who endeavored to effect a reconciliation between the views of Calvin and Luther. At this time Calvin made the final revision of his "Institutes," wrote his Commentary on St. Paul's Epistle to the Romans, and his treatise on the Lord's Supper, in which he diverged from the views of Luther and Zwingli, as well as from the Roman Catholic doctrine. He also revised the French translation of the Bible, which had been prepared by his friend Olivetan.

Amid the pressure of public and private duties, Calvin was looking about for a wife to help him to manage his affairs. His love story is not romantic. "I am not," he says, "one of your mad kind of lovers, who doat even on faults, when once they are taken by beauty of person. The only beauty that entices me is that my wife be chaste, obedient, humble, economical, patient, and that there is hope she will be solicitous about my health." After cancelling two engagements he married Odelette de Bures, the widow of an Anabaptist whom he had converted. He found her "the excellent companion of his life," and "a precious help" to him in his labors and infirmities. She died in 1549 to his great grief.

Calvin, during his absence from Geneva, was still watchful for the interest of his flock there. Disorder and irreligion had so increased in the town, that his friends longed for his return. At length in May, 1541, the decree of his banishment was unanimously revoked in the town-meeting, and a deputation was sent by the council to request the magistrates of Strasburg to release Calvin from his engagements there. In September the zealous, laborious Reformer was welcomed to Geneva with the utmost enthusiasm. During his residence

at Strasburg his form of church polity had been matured, and he took advantage of the favorable circumstances in Geneva to set it up in its integrity. A consistory was formed composed equally of lay and ecclesiastical members, whose duty was to maintain sound doctrine and pure morals. It could not inflict corporal punishment, but referred grave cases to the town council. Calvin's former associates did not return, and the burden of the new system fell on him alone. His labors were excessive; he preached, taught theology, attended the weekly meetings of the consistory, carried on an extensive correspondence, engaged in various controversies, and continued his commentaries on the Scriptures. "I have no time," he wrote to a friend, "to look out of my house at the blessed sun, and if things continue thus, I shall forget what it looks like. When I have settled my usual business, I have so many letters to write, so many questions to answer, that many a night is spent without any offering of sleep being granted to nature." Geneva, the centre of his operations, became the supreme realization of his ideal. The city was to be an example to Christendom; its church the mother and seminary of all Reformed churches. In regulating its civil affairs he was ably assisted by some French refugees, especially Germain Colladon, who had been a fellow-student at Bourges. Theodore Beza presided over the excellent academy, and Geneva became the home of literature, and one of the great bookmarts of Europe.

Among the controversies in which Calvin embarked there were two relating to predestination. The Romanist Pighius in 1542 was overcome by Calvin's defence, which appealed to the Scriptures and the Fathers, especially St. Augustine. The physician Bolsec in 1551 openly protested against a sermon by Calvin on this subject. The dispute was carried to the Council, and thence to the Synod of Swiss pastors. Finally Bolsec was banished, though many Reformers took sides with him. But the most memorable of all Calvin's controversies was that with Servetus, a Spanish physician, who, in 1553, published anonymously at Lyons a "Restoration of Christianity." It was a mystical treatise, rejecting the doctrine of the Trinity, and advocating a sort of Pantheism. Calvin had

known something of Servetus long before, and when a copy of the work was sent to him, he recognized the authorship, and denounced the man to the authorities at Vienne, where Servetus was residing. The heretic, though condemned to death, escaped, and sought refuge in Geneva. Calvin had warned him not to come, but the doomed man persisted. Though living in concealment, he was soon discovered, and at Calvin's instigation he was arrested and imprisoned for blasphemy. The accused was harshly treated, and after a brief trial in which Calvin was the accuser, was condemned to be burnt to death. The execution took place on the next day, October 27, 1553. At an interview with Farel and Calvin on that day, Servetus asked their forgiveness, but refused to retract any of his expressions. The burning of Servetus is the chief and irreparable stain on the memory of Calvin. He sought by condemnation of the heretic to prove that the Reformers were loyal to the Nicene Creed as the basis of Christendom. But his intimate blending of Church and State, in which all the Reformers of the sixteenth century agreed with the directors of the Roman Church, carried him by irresistible logic to the deed of infamy which the supporters of his doctrinal system have vainly attempted to palliate. Yet the burning of Servetus was due to the spirit of the age rather than the power of Calvin.

The heresy of Servetus did not immediately disappear. Several persons were tried for it, but though condemned, they were merely banished. One burning had brought obloquy enough. Calvinists were not formally separated from the Lutherans until after the diet of Poissy in 1561. Although Calvin was not present at this conference, everything was done according to his instructions. The chief difference was with regard to the Eucharist, but the Calvinistic churches of later times have generally accepted the Zwinglian views. The Lutherans rejected also the extreme views of predestination and election, maintained by Calvin. In spite of disease, induced and aggravated by his sedentary habits, Calvin carried on his numerous activities. To those who urged him to rest from unremitting toil he replied, "Do you wish the Lord to find me idle when He comes?" When unable any longer to leave his house, he

bore the sharp pains of stone and gout without a murmur. His friends gathered around his death-bed to receive his parting counsels. He died in the arms of Beza on May 27, 1564, in the fifty-fifth year of his age.

Calvin was of medium height, with pale-dark complexion, large, lustrous eyes, prominent nose, sunken cheeks and a long beard. He took but little sleep, was sparing in his food, and simple in his dress. He was naturally grave, austere and averse to sport. As a writer, he was indefatigable and voluminous; his style was characterized by uncommon purity, force and judgment. His collected works fill more than threescore volumes. He had no humor, but he sometimes employed satire for the overthrow of error. In all his writings there is a horror of impurity, a strong sense of duty, an unfailing reverence for the Divine sovereignty, a severe judgment of human nature. He has been justly called the Christian Stoic.

AKBAR.

KBAR was the greatest and wisest of the Mogul emperors of India. He was the grandson of Baber, the founder of their magnificent empire. His full name was Jelaladin Mohammed Akbar, the first meaning "the glory of the faith." He was born at Amerkote in Sindh on the 14th of October, 1542. His father, Humayun, had been driven from his capital, Delhi, by rebellious subjects a short time before. His childhood was passed amid dangers and privations, but in 1555 Humayun recovered Delhi by a victory over Secunder. In this battle the boy Akbar exhibited marked courage. Within a few months he succeeded to the throne on the death of his father. Bahram Khan, a Turcoman noble, was regent and displayed great energy in repressing pretenders to the throne. The discipline of the army was maintained and the strength of the empire increased. In March, 1560, young Akbar began to exercise royal power, and finding order well established relaxed the severity of the despotism which the regent had established. Bahram therefore rebelled and attempted to form an independent principality in Malwah. But Akbar by his vigorous measures reduced him to subjection, and then freely pardoned him. When Akbar offered his vanquished foe the choice of a high command in the army or a magnificent escort for a pilgrimage to Mecca, he chose the latter.

Akbar's dominions at first comprised only a small part of the former Mogul empire. But by energy and tact he gradually recovered the revolted provinces, and then retained them by watchful care over the governors appointed. He showed himself not only an able general, but a far-seeing statesman,

A READING FROM THE KORAN.

a liberal and beneficent ruler. Commerce was developed and encouraged. Taxes were carefully adjusted to the production of the soil. The people were taught to look to the government for justice and protection in all their rights. Forty years were required to extend his rule over the empire, which was steadily flourishing and contented. The chief evidence of his wisdom was his success in dealing with people of diverse races and antagonistic creeds. He had been originally a Mohammedan, but wide experience set him free from the intolerance of that religion. He came to doubt the divine origin of the Koran, and sought to acquire real truth from other faiths. He granted to the Hindoos freedom in worshipping Brahma, and abolished taxes on pilgrims, but prohibited the burning of widows and other barbarous practices. He sent to the Portuguese settlement at Goa a request for Christian missionaries and their books of law. In 1569 three priests went to Delhi and began to instruct him in the Gospel. So gracious was their reception, so reverent his attention, and so liberal his offers of money and other presents, that hopes were aroused that he would become a convert. But on various pretexts the emperor avoided taking any decisive step.

When a rebellion broke out in Guzerat, he immediately sent 2,000 cavalry from Agra, and followed with a chosen troop. By marches of eighty miles a day he reached the scene of action in nine days. Though the rebel host was superior in numbers, it was completely defeated. Similar daring exploits invested him in the eyes of the Hindoos with a preternatural character which secured victory better than carefully conducted operations.

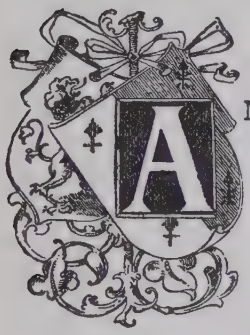
Akbar sought to relieve his subjects from excessive taxation. The capitation tax was abolished, and the imposts removed from trees and oxen. To regulate the taxes on a just scale he caused a complete survey of the empire to be made, and collected valuable statistical information about the productions of different regions. The results were embodied in the "Institutes of Akbar," which obtained a well-deserved celebrity. Schools were established throughout the empire for the education of both Hindoos and Moslems. Posts were also established in all parts of his dominions and not only

government dispatches, but private letters were thus forwarded. Literature was munificently patronized. Among the literary men attracted to Akbar's court were the brothers Feizi and Abulfazi. The former by Akbar's order translated Sanskrit works into Persian; the latter wrote a history of his patron's reign. Akbar's universal beneficence procured for him in his life time the title of "Guardian of Mankind," and in after years caused him to be held up as a model to the rulers of India.

In 1595 Akbar desired another conference with Christian missionaries and sent to Goa a letter with so many promises and kind expressions that his request was granted. The missionaries found him at Lahore and were most graciously received. They went through the same round as their predecessors, being welcomed, courteously treated, attentively heard and finally neglected. They were discouraged when they saw the worship he paid to the sun, and they accused him of seeking to obtain divine honors for himself.

As in the case of other monarchs, the closing years of Akbar's reign were marred by the evil conduct of his sons. Two of them died in youth from intemperance. The third, Sekim, who afterwards became the Emperor Jehanghir, annoyed his father by repeated rebellions. After a reign of fifty years Akbar died at Agra on the 13th of October, 1605. His body was deposited in a magnificent mausoleum at Sicandra, near Agra.

PRINCE EUGENE OF SAVOY.



AMONG the noted warriors of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries was Francis Eugene of Savoy, commonly called Prince Eugene. He was born at Paris in 1663, being the grandson of the Count of Soissons by Olympia Mancini, the niece of Cardinal Mazarin. Being destined for the church, he was known in his youth as the Abbé de Carignan. His mother, a woman of intrigue, was suspected of being concerned in some poisonings, which were then the subject of judicial inquiry, and thought proper to retire to Brussels. Deprived of her support, young Eugene was refused first an abbacy and then a regiment, which he solicited at the French court. He then went as a volunteer to serve in Germany against the Turks. Louvois, the war minister of Louis XIV., sent an order to recall him and the other French volunteers, upon pain, in case of disobedience, of being perpetually exiled. Eugene alone ventured to disobey: "I shall return one day," said he, "in spite of Louvois."

In his first campaign Eugene won such distinction that the Emperor Leopold gave him a regiment of dragoons. After the siege of Vienna was raised, he served in Hungary under the command of the Duke of Lorraine and the Elector of Bavaria. In 1691 be was sent with a body of troops into Piedmont, where he relieved Coni, besieged by the French, and took Carmagnole. In 1697 he was appointed to the command of the imperial army, and in September he entirely defeated the Turks at the battle of Zenta, where the Grand

Vizier and more than 20,000 men were left upon the field, while the Grand Seignior was obliged to make a precipitate retreat with the remains of his army. Eugene had hazarded this engagement contrary to the express orders of the imperial court, but he so well justified his conduct that Leopold gave him a written authority to act thenceforth according to his own judgment.

In the war of the Spanish succession, Eugene was sent, in 1701, to command in Italy against Catinat. The French post at Carpi was captured and Catinat obliged to retreat. Villeroi, who came from court to supersede that general, attacked Eugene in his intrenchment at Chiari, but was repulsed. In the following winter Eugene obtained admission into Cremona by stratagem, took Villeroi prisoner, but an accident prevented him from keeping possession of the town. He was opposed the next year by Vendome, with whom he fought the indecisive battle of Luzzara. On returning to Vienna, the emperor created him president of the Council of War, and intrusted the military chest to his disposal ; but that chest was often poorly furnished, and the delays and intrigues with which he had to contend at court gave him more trouble than the opposition in the field. With the great general of the Allied army, the Duke of Marlborough, he maintained close friendship, and by their talents and concert they obtained a decisive superiority over the French in Germany. Eugene commanded the imperial part of the army at the famous battle of Blenheim, fought in 1704, and had a glorious share in the success. In 1705, he underwent a repulse in Italy from Vendome, at the sanguinary engagement of Cassano ; but whatever reputation he might lose in this campaign he fully regained in the next, when, by an extraordinary march across Lombardy in the face of a French army, he penetrated to Turin, then closely besieged, attacked the French in their intrenchments, and obtained a complete victory, which secured the Duke of Savoy, and restored all the Milanese to the emperor.

In 1707, Prince Eugene made good his menace of one day re-entering France without permission by joining the Duke of Savoy in an invasion of Provence and Dauphiné. Finally, however, the invader was obliged to quit the country, after

having done no more than insult the pride of Louis and desolate a barren district. Eugene soon resumed the command of the imperialists in Flanders, and participated with Marlborough in the victory at Oudenard and the capture of Lisle. In 1709, he commanded the centre at the bloody battle of Malplaquet, and he continued for some ensuing campaigns to act in Flanders.

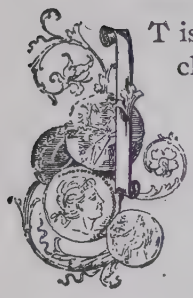
When the change of politics in the English court brought about a peace and the downfall of Marlborough, Prince Eugene went to London for the purpose of supporting the war party. He was received with much applause and admiration by the public, but was unable to change the resolutions of the cabinet, who resented the interference of a foreigner. He was compelled to return to finish the war alone. He captured Quesnoi, but he was fully matched by the Duke of Villars, who took his magazines at Marchiennes and disconcerted the whole of the campaign. After making every exertion to support the arms of the emperor, the prince commenced a negotiation with Villars which procured the peace of Rastadt in 1714.

The repose of Eugene was short. The hostilities committed by the Turks on the frontiers of the empire called him forth to command a powerful army assembled by the Emperor Charles VI. With this he passed the Danube and defeated the Grand Vizier at Peterwaradin in 1716. The next year he besieged Belgrade, which he took after defeating a vast army which marched to its relief and inflicting on them a loss of 20,000 men. The advantageous peace of Passarowitz in 1718 was the consequence of this brilliant success. After this period Prince Eugene retired to Vienna covered with glory, and loaded with recompenses of every kind, worthy of one who was justly considered as the saviour of the empire and the greatest benefactor of the House of Austria.

The war of 1733, in consequence of the disputed election of the Polish crown, called the veteran again into the field; but he was no longer the man he had been. Philipsburg was taken by the French before his eyes, and although he obtained some credit in covering Mentz and Friburg, he did not choose to hazard a battle. He died in Vienna on the 10th of April, 1736, aged seventy-three.

Prince Eugene was cold and reserved in manner and serious in aspect; he was, however, capable of friendship, faithful to his promises, free from pride, generous and liberal. In his military character he was active, enterprising, full of resources; and though he sometimes committed faults, he redeemed them by new successes. He showed no scruples in regard to the means he employed, and resorted even to dishonorable stratagems. He left some interesting memoirs of his life, which were first published in 1809.

MARSHAL BERNADOTTE.



IT is remarkable that the most permanent dynastic change in Europe, due to the wars of Napoleon, was in remote Sweden. There a French marshal was placed on the throne and his descendants hold the kingdom to this day. The change arose from the exigencies of Sweden rather than the will of Napoleon or the ambition of the successful marshal. When the childless Karl XIII. ascended the throne of that country in 1809, at the age of sixty, the diet chose as his heir Prince Christian August, of Augustenburg. In 1810 this Crown Prince went to Sweden, and by his warm-hearted disposition won the esteem and affection of the people. But on the 28th of May, while reviewing a regiment of hussars at Skane, he fell from his horse and expired. There was a strong suspicion that he had been poisoned. At the state funeral Count Axel von Farsen appeared magnificently dressed as marshal of the kingdom, and in a state carriage drawn by six white horses. The mob, excited by the unsuitable display on this solemn occasion, dragged him from his carriage and brutally murdered him, in spite of some weak attempts to save his life. The Swedish diet then astonished all Europe by offering the succession to the crown to Marshal Bernadotte, Prince of Ponte Corvo. In this way they sought to conciliate Napoleon, and to gain as their king a tried warrior. Bernadotte had acquired a high reputation in the north of Europe, both as governor of Hanover and as administrator of Swedish Pomerania. It was especially in the latter capacity that he had become known to the Swedes. Though he was a brave marshal, and had married a sister of Joseph Bonaparte's wife, he was not really a favorite of the emperor, yet the latter did

not refuse his assent to the proposed honor. Bernadotte was, therefore, on August 21, 1810, declared Crown Prince of Sweden.

Jean Baptiste Jules Bernadotte was born at Pace, in the south of France, on January 26, 1764. His father was a lawyer, but the son, at the age of sixteen, enlisted in the royal marines as a private. When the Revolution swept away the arbitrary distinction of classes, his abilities were soon acknowledged. In 1792 he was made a colonel, a year later a general of brigade, and soon afterward a general of division. His military talents were displayed in the campaigns of the Rhine and of Italy. During Bonaparte's absence in Egypt Bernadotte was made Minister of War and reorganized the army. He even aimed to be a rival of the great conqueror, yet on the establishment of the empire he was made a marshal. He was the efficient governor of Hanover, and had been offered the same position in Louisiana, though he never assumed its duties. In the campaign of 1805 he commanded a force of 20,000 men, and distinguished himself at Austerlitz. In the next year he was made Prince of Ponte Corvo. Such had been his career until he was nominated Crown Prince of Sweden.

Marshal Bernadotte, now forty-six years of age, landed in Sweden with his little son in the autumn of 1810. As a compliment to his new country and position he assumed the name Karl Johan. Napoleon regarded Sweden as a conquered territory, and compelled her to declare war with England. Prince Karl, entering heartily into the spirit of his adopted country, resolved to secure its independence. He left Napoleon, France and Catholicism behind him, and began a new and unexpected career. To a Frenchman's charm of manner he joined the commanding bearing of the hero of many battles. His new subjects were captivated with their new ruler, who was accomplished in knowledge of the world. With the Emperor Alexander I. of Russia he entered into an alliance and a life-long personal friendship. In 1813 he started with an army of 20,000 Swedes to aid the Germans in their War of Liberation. Although the Allied Powers had resolved to crush the French Emperor, the Swedish prince shrank from invading his native

land. He blockaded Hamburg, and by the peace of Kiel, concluded in January, 1824, he forced Denmark, which had taken the side of France, to give up Norway. This was intended as compensation for the loss of Finland, which Russia held since 1809. Norway withstood the new arrangement and desired to be independent. By prompt military manœuvres and wise diplomacy Prince Karl Johan brought about the political union of the Peninsula. The two countries were independent in legislation, but united under the rule of one king. This union was recognized by the Congress of Vienna in 1815. But Sweden was obliged also to relinquish to Prussia the remnant of its Pomeranian territory. This great military leader made for Sweden a peace that has lasted over eighty years—a rest from war unknown before in her annals.

Always French in language and character, Karl Johan gave to the Swedes the warm interest of his southern nature, and used his gifts of manner to win the affections of his subjects. Internal improvements, substantial prosperity and literary progress mark his reign. Canals, steamboats and factories were introduced. Districts formerly barren were made productive.

Karl XIII., the inefficient and demoralized king, died in February, 1818, and Karl Johan, who had already been virtual ruler, was solemnly crowned on the 11th of May as Karl XIV. He assumed the motto, "The love of my people is my reward." His personal influence was due as much to his diplomatic wisdom and his virtues, as to the military reputation he had won in his early career. Yet he was jealous of any interference with his authority, and punished severely the expression of opinions at variance with his own. There was a desire among educated Swedes for a government more directly responsible to the people, but the reforms proposed with this view could not be effected.

Karl Johan died in March, 1844, at eighty years of age, the most long-lived of Swedish kings. During the twenty-six years of his reign all differences with foreign nations had been settled; public and private credit was restored, and ample provision made for the payment of the public debt. Not only were the lower schools wisely cared for, but special schools in

medicine and engineering had been established. The chemist, Berzelius, gave lustre to his reign, and the engineer, John Ericsson, acquired in Sweden the skill which he displayed in America. Bishop Tegnér and Runeberg wrote poems which have become widely known, and Geijer is extolled both as historian and poet.

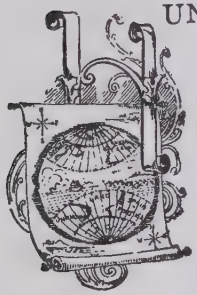
Karl XIV. was succeeded by his only son, Oscar I., who was born on July 4, 1799. Though French by birth, he had resided in Sweden from boyhood, and became familiar with the language, character and habits of the people. He had expressed sympathy with liberal opinions, and it was expected that a Constitution would be granted in his reign. But it was found impossible for the various classes to agree on its provisions. Yet several reforms were made in the criminal law and the law of inheritance. Trade increased so that the imports and exports were trebled. Railroads were provided by the State, and telegraphs were introduced. Peace was steadily maintained, though there were alarms about war with Germany in 1848 and with Russia in 1855. Oscar married Josephine Maximiliane Eugenie, Princess of Leuchtenberg, who survived him seventeen years. In 1857, two years before his death, Oscar, conscious of his failing health, placed the government in the hands of his eldest son, Karl XV. Oscar I. died on July 8, 1859.

The Crown Prince, Karl Eugene, then ascended the throne under the name Karl XV. In his reign the reorganization of the Riksdag, or Parliament, with a responsible ministry, took place in January, 1867. Greater liberty was given to people of other religious beliefs than the Lutheran, and the laws forbidding the assembling of Dissenters were annulled. The schools were greatly improved. Karl XV. married the gentle Princess Louisa of the Netherlands. She died in 1871, and he died a year later.

Oscar II. was born on January 21, 1829, and became king in 1872. He carried out the measures of reform pending at his brother's death, and gave greater freedom to the press. The chief struggle in his reign has been that of the Norwegian Storthing for a foreign and consular service, independent of Sweden. This has been steadily opposed by the King. Oscar

is an accomplished linguist, and an excellent scholar and writer. He translated Goethe's "Faust" into Swedish, and in 1883 issued a volume of poems under the name "Oscar Frederick." In 1857 he married the Princess Sophia of Nassau, by whom he has four sons. The Crown Prince Gustaf married Victoria, daughter of the Duchess of Baden.

LOUIS KOSSUTH.



UNGARY has long held a peculiar precarious place among the nationalities of Europe. In the disastrous battle of Mohacs, August 29, 1526, the Hungarian army was annihilated by the Sultan Soliman the Magnificent, and King Louis perished in the flight. To save the kingdom from Moslem rule Ferdinand of Austria was proclaimed and crowned king. In spite of some resistance his power was established, and since that time the Hapsburg sovereigns of Austria have been also kings of Hungary. In 1741 the Empress Maria Theresa, hard pressed by Frederic of Prussia, appealed not in vain to the loyalty of the Hungarian nobles. Their enthusiastic devotion was afterwards repaid by her zealous efforts for the welfare of their country. On the other hand, her philosophic son, Joseph II., refused to be crowned in Hungary, thinking thus to escape the obligations of the coronation oath. This autocratic reformer dispensed with the national diets, and governed by decrees. The Hungarians were offended at his insisting on the exclusive use of the German language in schools, courts, and public administration. Shortly before his death, in 1790, this emperor was compelled by the general discontent to revoke nearly all his decrees. His brother Leopold II., who succeeded to the throne, appeased the Hungarians by confirming the rights and liberties of their nation. But his reign lasted only two years. His son, Francis I., who swore to maintain the constitution of Hungary, practically disregarded it. In the wars with Napoleon the Hungarians faithfully supported the Austrian cause, and rejected the French emperor's summons to rise for national independence. But their loyalty received

little gratitude when the reactionary Metternich came to the direction of affairs: Francis discontinued the diets, raised armies and levied taxes at his own pleasure. Yet he and his minister were at last compelled to yield to the national will.

In the diet held in 1825 the use of the Magyar language was substituted for the Latin, which had heretofore prevailed as that of the learned classes. The spirit of nationality was fully aroused, and liberal sentiments were spread through the country. Religious toleration and other reforms were demanded. In spite of the opposition of Metternich and the court party, the liberal patriots made steady progress. Of their leaders the most widely-known was Louis Kossuth, who for a time occupied a foremost place in European affairs. Though his effort for Hungarian independence failed, he is still regarded as the embodiment of the national spirit.

Louis Kossuth was born at Monok, April 27, 1802. His father was a lawyer and the family belonged to the Lutheran Church. Louis (or Lajos in Hungarian) was educated for his father's profession, on which he entered in 1826. For four years from 1832 he sat in the upper chamber of the national diet as proxy for a nobleman. When the government prohibited the printing of the debates which concerned persons sympathizing with the Polish Revolution of 1831, Kossuth dictated to copyists extracts with comments. A large portion of these written copies were circulated. Afterwards he undertook to publish a lithographed copy, but the government prohibited its issue. Kossuth and other Liberals were arrested in May, 1837, tried for high treason and condemned to four years' imprisonment. This outrage produced intense excitement, and at the next election the Liberals secured a majority in the diet. Supplies were refused to the government until the prisoners should be released. After a confinement of eighteen months they obtained their freedom under a general amnesty for political offenders.

On January 1, 1841, Kossuth began the publication of the *Pesth Gazette* as the organ of the Liberal party. For three years it struggled earnestly for Hungarian nationality. Then unable to procure the necessary license for a new paper, he was obliged to confine himself to occasional articles. By his

efforts a Protective Union was formed, whose members pledged themselves to abstain from the use of Austrian manufactures until the tariff should be reformed. This Union so seriously affected Austrian trade, that some manufacturers moved their factories into Hungary. Local societies for agricultural, commercial and industrial purposes were also promoted. The strength of the Liberals lay chiefly in the local assemblies, and to overcome these Metternich determined to give the local government to administrators appointed and paid by the court. On this question the Liberal party divided, and Kossuth became the leader of the municipalists, who opposed the centralists. In November, 1847, he was elected to the lower house of the diet from the county of Pesth. The Emperor Ferdinand V. endeavored to conciliate the states tax addressing them in the Magyar language. But the two houses could not agree on the form of a reply.

In March, 1848, Kossuth, now the acknowledged leader of the entire Liberal party, went as head of a deputation to Vienna to demand a responsible ministry, abolition of all feudal burdens, extension of the franchise, equalization of taxes, freedom of the press and other reforms. Alarmed at the revolutionary progress throughout Europe, Metternich had fled and Ferdinand yielded assent to the demand for constitutional government. The Archduke Stephen was made Viceroy of Hungary, and Count Louis Batthyanyi was made prime minister. But the Viennese government was offended when Kossuth was made minister of finance. In April the Emperor went to Presburg and closed the national diet. To counteract the Hungarian success in obtaining autonomy, the imperial government encouraged Croatia, Slavonia and other provinces to resist the new rule, and demand separate governments. A war of races began. The officers of the few regiments sent into Hungary were disaffected to the national cause. A new meeting of the national diet was called July 5th and was opened by Viceroy Stephen. On the motion of Kossuth a levy of 200,000 men and ample supplies for national defence were voted unanimously, but the Emperor refused his assent. In September a deputation visited Vienna to urge the necessity of resisting the Croatian invasion of Hungary. But Fer-

dinand gave no satisfaction. Viceroy Stephen failed in his attempts at mediation with Jellachich, the ban of Croatia, and fled to Vienna. The Emperor appointed Count Lamberg commander-in-chief of the imperial forces in Hungary, but he was murdered by the populace of Buda-Pesth. The Batthyanyi ministry resigned and a Committee of National Defence was formed, with Kossuth as President. Jellachich, who had advanced within twenty-five miles of Buda, was defeated at Velencze on September 29th. He also fled to Vienna.

The Emperor Ferdinand now declared openly against the Hungarians and annulled the decrees of the diet. Jellachich was appointed generalissimo of all the forces to be employed in reducing Hungary. The diet replied by raising a large army to resist invasion. In December Ferdinand, finding himself unable to cope with the troubles surrounding him, resigned the throne. His brother, Francis Charles, who was heir apparent, refused to assume the responsibility; but his son, Francis Joseph, accepted the burden. The Hungarian diet protested against this change as unconstitutional.

Prince Windischgrätz commanded the main Austrian army, which entered Hungary December 15, 1848. In a few days Presburg was occupied, and Görgei, the commander of the Hungarian army, was compelled to retire. Jellachich defeated Perczel, who was moving to reinforce Görgei. The Hungarians finding Buda-Pesth insecure, moved their capital to Debreczen. On January 6, 1849, Windischgrätz occupied Buda-Pesth. He refused to receive a deputation headed by Count Batthyanyi, proposing peace, and arrested the count as a rebel. The Austrian generals made rapid progress through Hungary. Kossuth declared to the diet at Debreczen that the nation was on the brink of destruction, unless extraordinary measures were taken. Efforts were made to concentrate their scattered forces while Windischgrätz lingered in Buda-Pesth, content with what he had effected. When he moved in February he defeated the Polish general Dembinski at Kapolna, and drove the Hungarians beyond the Theiss. A Russian army, sent by Czar Nicholas, entered Transylvania in March, but was driven by the Polish general Bem into Wallachia.

By the middle of March the Hungarians had assembled an

army of 120,000 men, with excellent generals and ample artillery on the Theiss. They crossed that river and advanced on Pesth. The Austrians suffered several defeats, so that Windischgrätz was recalled and Baron Welden appointed in his place. Görgei continued to win victories, driving the Austrians to the frontier, while Jellachich retreated into Croatia. In the meantime Francis Joseph had promulgated a new constitution for the empire which abolished the old rights and privileges of Hungary. In reply to this sweeping act, Kossuth proposed to the diet to dethrone the Hapsburgs. The act was passed almost unanimously, but was unfavorably received by Görgei and the army. The form of the new government was left unsettled, but Kossuth was made Governor of Hungary, and practically dictator. Had the Hungarians, as he desired, followed up their successes by an immediate march on Vienna, they could have brought the Austrian government to terms. But Görgei refused to lead his army beyond the limits of Hungary. He thought it necessary to obtain possession of Buda-Pesth. This caused delay, but the fortress was taken by assault May 21. On June 5 Kossuth entered the capital and the diet convened there.

But the Russians were now advancing with a vastly increased force. Prince Paskewitch led the main army with over 100,000 men. In Transylvania the combined Austrian and Russian forces were reckoned at 60,000. On the western frontier Marshal Haynau led 60,000 Austrians, supported by 12,000 Russians. Altogether the allied forces amounted to 275,000 men with 600 guns. The total available force of Hungary did not amount to half this number. Görgei's army, the largest, had but 50,000 men on the upper Danube, and Bem had 32,000 in Transylvania. There arose disputes between Kossuth and Görgei, which increased his difficulties. In consequence of the advance of the hostile forces, the government was obliged to leave Buda-Pesth, and after some changes settled at Arad. Meantime Bem and Dembinski had been overpowered, and Görgei had suffered several defeats. In August he induced Kossuth and his ministers to yield to him the dictatorial power, and then, believing further resistance hopeless, surrendered his army to the Russians. All the prisoners were

delivered up to Marshal Haynau. By his decree all officers below the rank of general were pressed as privates into the Austrian service. Görgei was pardoned, but many of the leaders were put to death. Hungary, completely crushed, was treated as a conquered country. "Butcher" Haynau became notorious for his cruelties to the vanquished.

Kossuth, with his ministers, some generals and a few thousand soldiers, escaped into Turkey. That government sent him to Kutaieh, in Asia Minor. Austria and Russia demanded his surrender, but at the request of England and the United States, he was permitted to depart with his family, who had followed him in exile. The sympathy of the English-speaking people had been drawn to the champion of independence struggling against despots. Moved by the many manifestations of this feeling, he hoped for the intervention of their governments in behalf of his down-trodden countrymen. During his stay in Asia Kossuth studied diligently the English Bible and Shakespeare, and acquired a remarkable fluency in using the English language. The United States war steamer "Mississippi" was sent to convey him from Asia. He embarked in September, 1851, and was taken to Southampton, England, having been refused permission to pass through France by Louis Napoleon, then President. In the principal cities of Great Britain the eloquent Magyar addressed large audiences in behalf of Hungarian independence. Then crossing the Atlantic, he conducted a similar tour in the United States. Everywhere large crowds testified their admiration and sympathy with him and his cause.

President Taylor had sent Dudley Mann to Hungary as a confidential agent to ascertain facts of the struggle for independence. The Austrian Government instructed its minister at Washington, Chevalier Hulsemann, to protest against this interference in its internal affairs. When Daniel Webster became Secretary of State in 1850 he received this protest and sent a vigorous reply. It asserted the right of the United States as an independent nation to exercise its rights at its own discretion and to form and express its feelings freely. The American people highly approved this self-reliant attitude. When Kossuth, cheered and elated by the expressions

of popular approval, sought from the United States government active intervention in behalf of Hungary, he was greatly disappointed. The Government made no attempt to restrain the feelings of the people, but wisely refrained from further action.

In July, 1852, Kossuth returned to England and fixed his residence in London. From this city he was in close correspondence with the propagators of democratic principles on the Continent. When in 1859 Napoleon III. engaged in the Italian war against Austria, Kossuth believed that the time had come for renewal of the struggle in Hungary, but the peace of Villafranca disappointed his hopes. In 1862 the irreconcilable Kossuth, now sixty years old, removed to Turin. There he remained during the rest of his life, a diligent observer, but no longer a factor in public affairs.

In 1854 martial law which had heretofore prevailed in Hungary was brought to an end. A few years later various concessions were made by the imperial government to the national spirit. In 1860 a native Magyar was made governor of Hungary, but his rule was hardly more acceptable than that of his Austrian predecessors.

When Prussia declared war on Austria in 1866, Kossuth from his retirement sent forth a proclamation urging the Hungarians to action. But the war was over before the people could move. Austria, however, felt the necessity of complying with the Hungarians' demands for constitutional self-government. A compromise was effected by the Austrian minister, Baron Beust, and Francis Deak, the new Hungarian leader. The dual monarchy of Austria-Hungary was finally sanctioned on February 18, 1867. Hungary obtained the constitutional autonomy which she had enjoyed in 1848, and the supreme command of the army remained with the emperor-king. The reconciliation of the Magyars with the Hapsburg dynasty was completed when the emperor and empress were crowned king and queen of Hungary on June 8, 1867. But Kossuth sternly expressed disapproval of the new arrangement, and refused to return to his native land, even when elected to the diet. His time was devoted to scientific and literary work. His speeches and writings were collected in

several editions. In 1883 he published his "Autobiography." His closing days were passed in seclusion from public life and in poverty if not in actual want. He died on March 20, 1894.

Kossuth was of slight frame, about five feet eight inches in height. His face was oval, the eyes bluish-gray, the forehead high, broad and deeply wrinkled. When he reached America his straight dark hair was beginning to turn gray. He seemed rather a visionary enthusiast than a great leader. But his remarkable eloquence in a foreign language recently acquired astonished all who heard him.

The Hungarian Revolution of 1848.

(From the Speech delivered by Kossuth at Washington, March 15, 1852.)

To-day is the fourth anniversary of the Revolution in Hungary. Anniversaries of revolutions are almost always connected with the recollections of some patriot's death,—fallen on that day, like the Spartans at Thermopylæ, martyrs of devotion to their fatherland. Almost in every country there is some proud cemetery, or some modest tombstone, adorned on such a day by a garland of evergreen,—the pious offering of patriotic tenderness.

I passed the last night in sleepless dream; and my soul wandered on the magnetic wings of the past, home to my beloved, bleeding land. And I saw, in the dead of the night, dark veiled shapes, with the paleness of eternal grief upon their brow—but terrible in the tearless silence of that grief—gliding over the churchyards of Hungary, and kneeling down to the head of the graves, and depositing the pious tribute of green and cypress upon them; and, after a short prayer, rising with clenched fists and gnashing teeth, and then stealing away tearless and silent as they came,—stealing away, because the bloodhound of my country's murder lurks from every corner on that night, and on this day, and leads to prison those who dare to show a pious remembrance to the beloved. To-day, a smile on the lips of a Magyar is taken for a crime of defiance to tyranny; and a tear in his eye is equivalent to a revolt. And yet I have seen, with the eye of my home-wandering soul, thousands performing the work of patriotic piety.

And I saw more. When the pious offerers stole away, I saw the honored dead half risen from their tombs, looking to the

offerings, and whispering gloomily, "Still a cypress, and still no flower of joy! Is there still the chill of winter and the gloom of night over thee, Fatherland? Are we not yet revenged?" And the sky of the east reddened suddenly, and quivered with bloody flames; and from the far, far west, a lightning flashed like a star-spangled stripe, and within its light a young eagle mounted and soared towards the quivering flames of the east; and as he drew near, upon his apprcaching, the flames changed into a radiant morning sun, and a voice from above was heard in answer to the question of the dead:

"Sleep yet a short while; mine is the revenge. I will make the stars of the west the sun of the east; and when ye next awake, ye will find the flower of joy upon your cold bed."

And the dead took the twig of cypress, the sign of resurrection, into their bony hands, and lay down.

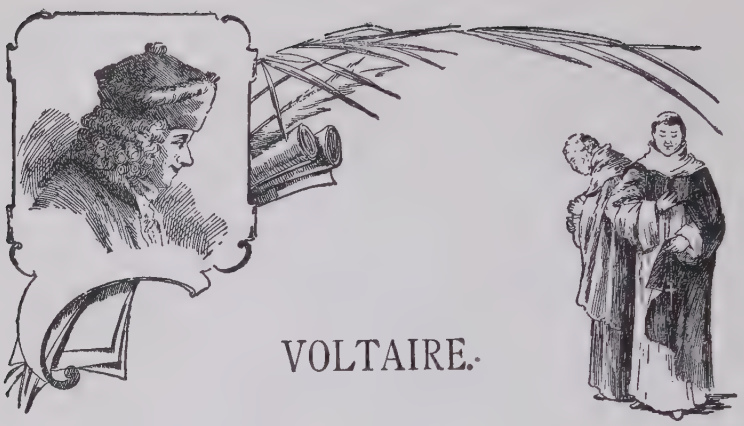
Such was the dream of my waking soul. And I prayed; and such was my prayer: "Father, if thou deemest me worthy, take the cup from my people, and give it in their stead to me." And there was a whisper around me like the word "Amen." Such was my dream, half foresight and half prophecy; but resolution all. However, none of those dead whom I saw, fell on the 15th of March. They were victims of the royal perjury which betrayed the 15th of March. The anniversary of our Revolution has not the stain of a single drop of blood.

We, the elect of the nation, sat on that morning busily but quietly, in the legislative hall of old Presburg, and, without any flood of eloquence, passed our laws in short words, that the people shall be free; the burdens of feudality shall cease; the peasant shall become free proprietor; that equality of duties, equality of rights, shall be the fundamental law; and civil, political, social, and religious liberty shall be the common property of all the people, whatever tongue it may speak, or in whatever church pray; and that a national ministry shall execute these laws, and guard with its responsibility the chartered, ancient independence of our Fatherland.

Two days before, Austria's brave people in Vienna had broken its yoke; and summing up despots in the person of their tool, old Metternich, drove him away; and the Hapsburgs, trembling in their imperial cavern of imperial crimes, trembling, but treacherous, and lying and false, wrote with yard-long letters, the words "Constitution" and "Free Press," upon Vienna's walls; and

the people in joy cheered the inveterate liars, because the people knows no falsehood.

On the 14th, I announced the tidings from Vienna to our Parliament at Presburg. The announcement was swiftly carried by the great democrat, the steam-engine, upon the billows of the Danube, down to old Buda and to young Pesth, and while we, in the House of Representatives, passed the laws of justice and freedom, the people of Pesth rose in peaceful but majestic manifestation, declaring that the people should be free. At this manifestation all the barriers raised by violence against the laws, fell of themselves. Not a drop of blood was shed. A man who was in prison because he had dared to write a book, was carried home in triumph through the streets. The people armed itself as a National Guard, the windows were illuminated and bonfires burnt, and when these tidings returned back to Presburg, blended with the cheers from Vienna, they warmed the chill of our House of Lords, who readily agreed to the laws we proposed. And there was rejoicing throughout the land. For the first time for centuries the farmer awoke with the pleasant feeling that his time was now his own—for the first time went out to till his field with the consoling thought that the ninth part of his harvest will not be taken by the landlord, nor the tenth by the bishop. Both had fully resigned their feudal portion, and the air was brightened by the lustre of freedom, and the very soil budding into a blooming paradise. Such is the memory of the 15th of March, 1848.—LOUIS KOSSUTH.



VOLTAIRE.

VOLTAIRE was the sovereign writer of the eighteenth century. In the latter part of his life he controlled the opinion of the civilized world. Yet he was not really a great thinker, nor a great poet, nor a great historian, nor a great novelist, nor a great man of action. He was a keen satirist, an exquisite epigrammatist, a fine lyrist, a supreme mocker, a detector of shams, an inflexible defender of freedom of thought, a master of all styles except the dull and wearisome. In an age completely submissive to a crushing despotism he was able by his shrewd and nimble wit and untiring versatility to baffle his enemies and win permanent victories for human freedom.

The name Voltaire is simply an anagram for Arouet, *l. j.* (*le jeune*), that is Arouet, junior. It was assumed in 1718 by François Marie Arouet, who was born at Paris on the 21st of November, 1694. His father, François Arouet, was a notary who had prospered in the employ of the government. His mother, Mary Marguerite Dumart, had delicate health, and died when Voltaire was but seven years old. He had already however, shown fondness for learning and was trained in verse making by his god-father, Abbé de Châteauneuf, a fashionable literary man. At the age of ten he was sent to the College Louis le Grand, then under the management of the Jesuits. Although he afterwards chose to depreciate the education he received during the seven years he spent at this college, it

seems to have given him wide knowledge, good mental discipline and sufficient exercise in criticism. Part of the course was performance of plays, both in Latin and French, and thus Voltaire was prepared for his later dramatic composition. About the time the talented boy entered college his god-father presented him to his mistress, the celebrated Ninon de l'Enclos, and she kindly remembered the young poet in her will, leaving him 2000 livres "to buy books with."

On his leaving college his father sent him to the law schools, but the son preferred the society of the literary coterie of the Temple. He indulged also in some dissipation and wrote a satire on the decoration of the choir of Notre Dame. His elder brother had become a Jansenist, and the father, disgusted with both, said bitterly, "I have for sons two fools—the one in prose, the other in verse." To break the younger of his bad habits, the father sent him as page in the suite of the Marquis de Châteauneuf, brother of the Abbé and French Ambassador to Holland. The youth went to the Hague and soon fell in love with Olympe Dunoyer, fair daughter of a Huguenot, who had sought refuge among the Dutch. Her mother did not favor his suit, though he declared an undying passion. When their love letters were discovered, the ambassador sent young Arouet back to his father in disgrace. The latter threatened to send him to prison by a *lettre de cachet* unless he would go to work in a lawyer's office. But soon the troublesome fellow began to write libellous poems and got into fresh trouble. Then his father's friend, Louis Caumartin, Marquis de St. Ange, took him to his country residence, where he heard much about Henry IV. and Sully from their former associates.

In the autumn of 1715 Louis XIV. died and the Duc d'Orleans ruled as regent. Arouet now came back to Paris and to literary society. He was admitted to the "court of Sceaux," in which the beautiful Duchesse du Maine presided. She was hostile to the regent, and her young poet-friend was believed to have composed lampoons on that prince. He was therefore banished from the capital for a time. When he was allowed to return a still more violent satire appeared, entitled "Things I have seen." It recounted the evils to be seen in the

state prisons crowded with innocent subjects, the people sunk in abject slavery under ruinous taxes and unjust edicts. The last line ran that all these evils the writer had seen, though he was but twenty years old. A spy charged Arouet with the authorship, and he was accordingly arrested in May, 1717, and sent to the Bastille. Here he remained eleven months, during which time he revived his tragedy, "Œdipe," and began his epic, the "Henriade," on the exploits of Henry IV. On his release from imprisonment in April, 1718, the author assumed the name Voltaire, though he never legally discarded the family name.

The tragedy "Œdipe" was acted at the Théâtre Français in November, and obtained immediate success, having a run of forty-five nights. The regent himself was so charmed with it that he presented the author a gold medal. When Voltaire waited on the Prince to make his acknowledgments, the latter said to him, "Be prudent and I will take care of you." The poet replied, "I am infinitely obliged to your Highness, but I humbly request that you will not again take the trouble of providing me with food and lodging." His father, who had refused to see him since he had been in disgrace, attended a representation of the tragedy and was affected to tears. He then embraced his son amid the congratulations of the court ladies. "Œdipe" has kept the French stage; it is marked by impressive scenes, lofty characters and fervid declamation. Voltaire's second play, "Artemire," was a failure, but parts of it were used in later works. In December, 1721, the elder Arouet died, leaving his son property worth more than 4000 livres a year. Besides this he obtained a pension of 2000 livres from the regent. His fortune was thus fairly assured.

In the summer of 1722 Voltaire went on secret diplomatic business to Cambray, where many statesmen were gathered. Thence he passed to Brussels, where he met and quarreled with Jean Baptiste Rousseau, a skeptical poet, who was jealous of his young rival, and was irritated by his satire. After a visit to the Hague Voltaire returned to Paris and made his "Henriade" ready for the press. But its incidental declarations in favor of religious toleration and freedom of thought prevented it from receiving the approval of the clergy, neces-

sary to its license to be printed. The manuscript was purloined, altered and published by a copyist under the title "La Ligue" (The League). This mutilated poem produced considerable sensation. It has been suspected, indeed, that the surreptitious publication was only one of Voltaire's characteristic devices to attract attention to his work. The author of the original, however, revised his poem and had it printed privately at Rouen. In its new form it began to be circulated in the spring of 1724. Voltaire's third tragedy, "Mariamne," appeared about the same time; though unsuccessful at first, it was revised and made acceptable to play-goers. On the death of the regent, who had proved a generous patron, Voltaire found a new supporter in the Duke of Richelieu, and became a general favorite at court. Nevertheless he experienced some danger in associating with aristocratic rakes. At a gay gathering in the house of the Duke of Sully he was insulted by the Chevalier de Rohan by the question, "Who is that young man that talks so loud?" Voltaire promptly replied, "My lord, he is one who does not bear a great name, but voices respect for the name he has." A few days later he was called out of Sully's house and beaten by Rohan's hirelings, in their employer's sight. Voltaire at once set himself to take fencing lessons, and having acquired some skill, sent a challenge to the Chevalier. Rohan accepted, but on the morning appointed for the duel, Voltaire was arrested. He was sent to the Bastille, but was confined only two weeks, having requested that he might go into exile in England. As the Duke of Sully had failed in his obligation to protect his guest, Voltaire took poetic revenge by striking out from the "Henriade" the name of his ancestor, Maximilien de Béthune.

Voltaire spent nearly three years in England, and the influence of this period was most important on his subsequent career. He found aristocratic society there widely different from what it was in France. Literary men were highly esteemed and munificently patronized, and Voltaire was doubly welcome, as being an exile and victim of French illiberality. An edition of his "Henriade" was printed in London by subscription, under the nominal patronage of King George I. and the effective aid of Caroline, then Princess of Wales.

Voltaire was filled with admiration at English liberty, though he could not appreciate the exact working of the English government. He observed with astonishment the freedom with which public events and public personages were criticised, and the extent to which religious toleration was carried. At the same time he found that decency and propriety were maintained in the conversation of men of rank. He gave attention to the English language and literature. He learned enough of Shakespeare to pronounce him "a divine barbarian." In his later works he borrowed phrases and scenes from that master, though he did not cease to censure his plots and style. He learned to admire the genius of Newton and Locke, and after his return to France exerted himself to propagate their ideas in opposition to the philosophic subtleties of Descartes. English rationalism in his hands took new form and became a most potent weapon in the warfare he waged with clerical dogmatism. Voltaire had left France a poet and trifler; he returned a philosopher and intellectual sovereign.

Voltaire obtained permission to return to France in the spring of 1729. The wealth which he had already acquired was enormously increased by his gains in the State lotteries after his return and by his speculations in the grain market. He was never careless in money affairs, and though he affected to be above receiving a price for his literary work, he was really shrewd in obtaining compensation. He was now independent of those noblemen whose patronage he had found was too dearly purchased. The "Henriade" was now licensed in France. His drama of "Brutus," written in England, was not very popular at first, and gradually failed in attraction. "Eriphile," two years later, had the same doubtful success. In 1731 were published two of his chief works, "Charles XII." and his "Philosophic Letters on the English." His efforts to avoid the censorship were not entirely successful. The history secured immediate popularity, and has maintained it to the present day. The letters, commenting on English customs and institutions, were really indirect attacks on everything established in church and state in France. Among other notable chapters were some on the Quakers, who appear to

have attracted Voltaire's special attention by their strenuous endeavor to practice the example and precepts of Christ. To the main subject were added some remarks on Pascal, which proved very offensive to the clergy, and brought on the work official condemnation by the Parliament of Paris in 1734. The book was publicly burnt, the author's house searched, and he himself obliged to seek refuge in the independent duchy of Lorraine. But before this, in 1732, had been produced "Zaïre," the best of all his plays. It is founded on Shakespeare's "Othello," and by its difference in treatment exhibits well the essential difference between the French and the English drama.

In 1738 Voltaire went to reside with the Marquise du Châtelet, a married woman of a mathematical turn of mind, at her famous Chateau of Cirey, on the border of Lorraine. There they lived, studied, loved, and quarrelled for fifteen years, though with occasional visits to Paris, Brussels, and other places. With all her faults, she was so truly admirable that Voltaire calls her the "divine Emilie." Her strangely complaisant husband was absent most of the time on duty in camps and at court. Under this mathematical lady's guidance Voltaire wrote "Elements of the Philosophy of Newton." The work attempted no more than a slight exposition of the "Principia" of Newton, which was scarcely known in France, but commended itself to Voltaire by its sound reasoning from observed facts. But other writings were composed in this quiet retreat, better suited to the genius of the writer, among which were the moderately successful play of "Alzire," the notorious poem of "La Pucelle" ("The Maid"), in which the splendid romance of Joan of Arc is dragged in the mire of the author's vile imagination; his most successful play of "Merope," partly borrowed and much improved from the Italian of Maffei, and the play of "Mahomet," which is reckoned his third best. "Mahomet" was adroitly dedicated to the Pope, and the arch free-thinker received medals from him, much to the dismay of the Jesuits. There were also many fugitive and miscellaneous pieces in prose and verse composed at Cirey. By the influence of the Duke of Richelieu Voltaire was employed to write a play, "The Princess of

Navarre," for the wedding festivities of the Dauphin. This mark of royal favor led both to his being admitted, in 1746, to the Academy, which honor he had long coveted, and to his being made historiographer to the king, with the salary of 2,000 livres. He was assisted in obtaining these high honors not only by the Marquis d'Argenson, then minister, but still more by Madame d'Etoile, afterwards Pompadour, the favorite mistress of the king. During this period of court favor won by obsequious flattery of those in power, the true spirit of the mocker at times appeared. In one of his dramatic pieces presented at court the Emperor Trajan was plainly intended for a delineation of King Louis XV. At the close of the performance Voltaire said to Richelieu in tones loud enough to be heard in the royal box, "Is Trajan satisfied?" Feeling his position with the king becoming insecure, he went to Lunéville, where Madame du Châtelet was residing at the court of King Stanislaus, of Poland. But here St. Lambert, a soldier, younger than either, appeared on the scene, and was soon involved in an intrigue with the lady. The unfortunate result was her death in September, 1749, soon after giving birth to a child.

Voltaire, now fifty-five years of age, felt himself deprived of a home. For a time he rented the house of the Châtelets in Paris, but he did not feel entirely safe in the city, where he had offended so many powerful persons, and was likely to offend them again. He had already been invited more than once to Berlin by Frederic the Great. But as the Prussian king would not include the Marquise du Châtelet in the invitation, it had not been accepted. Now that she was gone, the way was clear. Voltaire reached Berlin on July 10, 1751, having spent nearly a month in the journey. Frederic received him at the palace at Potsdam in the most distinguished manner. He continued to treat his guest with royal munificence, giving him 20,000 francs a year, and offering 4,000 more for his niece, Madame Denis, if she would come to keep house for him. Voltaire repaid these attentions by entertaining the court with his wit and correcting the bad French verses of the king, who wished to prove himself also a poet and a philosopher. But Voltaire was too proud to submit to the whims

of a king who was rather fond of teasing, and he was jealous of the men of science whom he found established in the king's favor. This period was not prolific in new compositions, but the "Siècle de Louis XIV." was completed and printed. This dissertation on the glory of France during the reign of the Grand Monarch is one of the best of Voltaire's serious writings.

But the trouble due to the opposite tempers of the king and the wit were drawing to a head. The king told somebody at court that "when he had sucked the orange he would throw away the skin." This spiteful remark was duly told Voltaire who began to be alarmed. Nevertheless he could not help taking occasion to ridicule the French mathematician Maupertuis, whom Frederic had made president of the Prussian Academy. Maupertuis had sent out an expedition to Lapland for exact measurement of a degree of longitude, in order to verify by observation Newton's mathematical deductions that the earth is not a perfect sphere, but is flattened at the poles. He issued also a book of "Letters," suggesting other physical problems and attempts at their solution. Voltaire, who had already some cause of quarrel with the physicist, pounced upon the book and held it up to scorn in his "Diatribe of Doctor Akakia." The king read it in manuscript, and though he highly enjoyed the joke, ordered it to be suppressed. Nevertheless copies soon appeared in print. The king then put Voltaire under arrest for disobedience, but soon released him and appeared to be reconciled. Frederic ordered all copies of the pamphlet to be burned, but many had already been sent abroad, and the learned world was soon laughing at the vagaries of Doctor Akakia. The king was greatly enraged at the reproach cast upon his Academy. Voltaire, feeling that his time was up, returned to the king his presents and the patent for his pension, but they were sent back. After some further pretence of reconciliation Voltaire obtained leave to go to Paris and left Potsdam in March, 1753. But about three months later he was arrested and brutally treated by Prussian officers at Frankfort. Voltaire had added some offensive matter to the "Akakia," and had engaged in personal controversy with Maupertuis. He had not gone to Paris, but lingered at Leipsic and other places in Germany, collecting material

for the "Annals of the Empire," a dull compilation ordered by the Duchess of Saxe Weimar. The pretext given for his arrest was that he was carrying off some unpublished poetry of Frederic's. After suffering various indignities he was released by the city authorities. He was refused permission to enter France, but went to Colmar, where he attempted to make amends for past misdeeds by confession and partaking of the eucharist. Though not admitted to Paris he journeyed in other parts of France until a year had passed. Then deciding to settle in Switzerland, he went to Geneva in December, 1754.

Here Voltaire bought a country seat, which he named "Les Delices." The house is still standing, though now in the suburbs. His wealth enabled him to keep open house for visitors, who came in large numbers, and to maintain a private theatre, in which he was actor and stage-manager. His "Orphelin de la Chine" (Chinese Orphan) was well received at Paris in 1755. As the law of Geneva forbade theatrical performances, a controversy arose with the city authorities and with the church pastors. In course of the discussion two other French writers took part, D'Alembert in the "Encyclopédie" condemning Geneva for its exclusion of the theatre, and Rousseau coming to the defence of his native place. Voltaire submitted so far as to leave off the performances at Les Delices, but he opened a theatre at Lausanne. But he wished to get a home where he could enjoy more social freedom, and therefore bought a new estate at Ferney, four miles from Geneva, and on French soil. Here he passed the last twenty-two years of his life in a new manor-house, which still stands commanding a beautiful prospect of Lake Leman. While he entertained in princely style, the veteran author sedulously pursued his literary labors. On his grounds he built a small church, bearing the inscription "DEO EREXIT VOLTAIRE." For its altar he obtained a relic from the Pope. The church has since been used as a store-house for wine. The house was kept by his ill-tempered niece, Madame Denis, a thorough Parisian in spirit, who often regretted her distance from that capital and its gayeties. Many biographies are filled with extracts from the accounts of celebrated visitors to

Ferney. It was also the centre of an animated correspondence with the leaders of thought throughout Europe. The Empress Catharine II. sent the French sage magnificent presents as well as obliging letters. Christian VII., of Denmark, and Gustavus III., of Sweden, felt it an honor to communicate with him, and Frederic of Prussia was a friendly correspondent. Every aspirant for literary distinction sought a criticism from Ferney, and few applied in vain. The honored sovereign of the world of letters was not sparing in trouble or praise where deserved.

Among the fruits of his literary labor at Ferney was the tale of "Candide," which was intended to burlesque the optimistic theory of Leibnitz, who pronounced the order of events in the present world to be the best possible. Leibnitz, under the name of Doctor Pangloss, is sent with his noble German pupils on a bewildering tour to all parts of the world, meeting with surprising misadventures, and finally settling in the neighborhood of Constantinople. Its moral is given by an old Turk, "Cultivate your garden," and let the big world take care of itself. In other short tales, generally satirical, Voltaire taught the popular French writers of recent times their trade. The celebrated "Encyclopédie," conducted by his friends Diderot and D'Alembert, contained many contributions from his pen and was filled with his spirit. Yet its articles appear tame and harmless to the reader of to-day, so that he wonders why it was at last suppressed. This suppression Voltaire resented in his characteristic way. "Tancrède" was the last of his successful plays. When it was just completed, the author placed the manuscript in Marmontel's hands. When the latter returned it after reading, his face was bathed in tears. "Your tears," said Voltaire, "tell me what I wished to know." In 1765 Voltaire published his "Essay on the Manners and Spirit of Nations," considered by some his most important work. It is far from showing any comprehension of the philosophy of history. It is simply a criticism on a medley of facts or supposed facts from the self-satisfied author's point of view. No attempt is made to enter into the spirit of other nations or times. It is inferior to the works of Montesquieu which suggested it.

A considerable part of Voltaire's time and attention during his closing years was given to efforts in behalf of persons oppressed and ill-treated. Three years were spent in procuring the rehabilitation of the name of the unfortunate Huguenot, Calas, who had fallen a victim to frantic religious fanaticism. Calas was charged with having murdered his son to prevent him from becoming a Catholic. When Voltaire first heard of the case, he could not believe that a bench of judges in France would put an innocent man to death. But when the details of the horrible story were recited by Donald Calas, who had found a refuge in Geneva, the brave old skeptic not only was assured of the father's innocence, but set to work against all official influence to have the judgment of the court reversed. His fortune, now ample, was used lavishly in hiring lawyers, while his time and talent were devoted to publishing pamphlets and papers, and writing to influential persons. After two years of prodigious effort, public indignation was aroused. The government compelled the judges at Toulouse to re-open the case. Calas, long since executed, was pronounced innocent, his property was restored to his family, and they received further indemnity. Religious intolerance had been rebuked in its stronghold.

The case of Sirven was similar to that of Calas, though no life was actually lost. Espinasse, who had been sent to the galleys for harboring a Protestant minister, was rescued. Many others were objects of the philanthropic endeavors of this truly humane man. His vivid imagination and genuine sympathy animated him in persevering efforts to protect the helpless. Himself the victim of steady persecution, he had learned to use his talents to baffle his persecutors and turn them to shame. The noblest work of his life is this rescue of the helpless and defeat of their oppressors. It was undoubtedly with reference to this diabolical persecuting spirit that he used so often the phrase, "Ecrasez l'infâme" (crush the infamous). The expression has been misunderstood and misrepresented; some even thinking that it refers to Christ or Christianity. A fair consideration of all the circumstances will show that it means the immoral system of persecution then established in France, practically equivalent to the Spanish Inquisition in its worst form.

In 1776 Voltaire's home life was brightened by his adoption of Reine Philiberte de Varicourt, a young girl of noble but poor family. She was afterwards married to the Marquis de Villette. Madame Denis was still the mistress of the house, and in February, 1778, she succeeded in inducing the patriarch to return to Paris. There, at last, he enjoyed a splendid triumph. He had prepared for it a new tragedy, "Irene," which was successfully performed on March 16th. At its representation the aged poet was crowned with laurel amid the acclamations of the spectators. The city was full of his admirers. The French Academy deputed three of its members to carry him its compliments. "We are come," said they, "to beg you, sir, to inspire us." He replied, "I live only for you and by you." He attended a full meeting of the Academy in which he embraced the American Minister, Dr. Franklin. The Academy elected him Director, and placed his bust beside that of Corneille. The congratulatory visits he received were so numerous that he was almost overwhelmed by them. "I am stifled," he said, "but it is with roses." Franklin brought to him his grandson, asking for the old man's blessing. Voltaire placed his hand on the boy's head and said "God and Liberty." The incessant round of excitement proved too much for his feeble frame. He remarked to a friend —"I have come to Paris to find glory—and a tomb." He fell ill in May, and after a fortnight priests were sent for. One he dismissed with thanks; to another he said, "Let me die in peace." As he had not received the last sacraments an attempt was made to refuse his body sepulture. But his nephew was a priest at Sellières, in Champagne, and the body was interred there before the bishop of the diocese could interpose. On July 10, 1791, it was removed to the Pantheon, which the Revolutionists had made the tomb of great Frenchmen.

Voltaire throughout his long life was noted for his thinness. In old age he was a mere skeleton, with a long nose and piercing black eyes peering out of a bushy wig. He took little exercise, and was moderate in eating and drinking, except that he used coffee to excess. He was fond of conversation and passionately devoted to the stage. He liked the society of women, but his attentions were platonic. He was

inordinately vain, and absurdly jealous of those who seemed in any degree to interfere with his prominence. He was kind to dependants, and good-natured when not crossed. He was greedy of money, and when he had attained wealth he was liberal in display. He had no hesitation in using any means whatever to attack an enemy or to protect himself when in danger. He neither loved nor reverenced any object except himself and his own glory. The acts of his life, as well as his writings, show an irascible malignity and contempt for what is pure and holy. Hence his serious poetry is cold, while his other works abound in sneering irony, worthy of Mephistopheles. The versatility of his genius is shown by the number of his works in diverse departments. His style is marked by elegance and grace. In tragedy he equalled, though not in all respects, Racine and Corneille, yet it must be admitted that his best dramas are taken from foreign models. In comedy he failed, except, perhaps, in "Nanine." His "Henriade" is a serious epic, constructed in close imitation of Virgil, and has now few admirers. The "Pucelle" treats the noble story of France's saintly heroine in the Italian burlesque romantic style, approaching that of "Don Juan." While it may amuse, it offends the moral taste. His minor poems, of which there is an immense crowd, are full of wit and elegance and felicity of diction, but entirely devoid of imagination or true poetic spirit. The best are simply fine epigrams. His prose tales were mostly written with a polemic purpose, yet in the best this is forgotten in view of the exquisite finish of the story. The historical writings, though the most read, no longer hold the high place they once had. Though clear and ingenious, they are generally shallow and superficial. His "Dictionnaire Philosophique" is not what would now be called philosophical. It is chiefly a collection of his contributions to the "Encyclopédie," and abounds in attacks on the Church, the Bible, the government, public affairs and persons that displeased him. Other works, called philosophical, are chiefly common-sense observations on ordinary topics. In like manner those called critical treat of some French authors. Voltaire's correspondence was immense, and as collected exhibits fully his various moral and literary quali-

ties. Trained in his youth amid the infidelity and profligacy of Parisian society in the Regency, this brilliant Frenchman taught literature to mock at the truths which he saw mocked at in every-day life. While he thus propagated much of the evil of that time, his writings tended to expose and destroy the hypocrisy which masqueraded as religion. He really had a sincere belief in God and the supernatural, and scoffed at the atheism, professed by some of his fellow encyclopedists, with a dislike as scornful as that which he showed toward Christianity. He devoted the energy of his mature life to intellectual labor, finding in it his sufficient pleasure. His objects were to combat religion without ceasing, to wage war on all who maintained it, to defend himself against those who attacked him, to beat down those who seemed to attempt to rival or surpass him, to succor or avenge the innocent victims of human injustice.

Voltaire and Frederic the Great.

Voltaire was invited to Berlin by a series of letters, couched in terms of the most enthusiastic friendship and admiration. For once the rigid parsimony of Frederic seemed to have relaxed. Orders, honorable offices, a liberal pension, a well-served table, stately apartments under a royal roof were offered in return for the pleasure and honor which were expected from the society of the first wit of the age. A thousand louis were remitted for the charges of the journey. No ambassador setting out from Berlin for a court of the first rank had ever been more amply supplied. But Voltaire was not satisfied. At a later period, when he possessed an ample fortune, he was one of the most liberal of men; but till his means had become equal to his wishes, his greediness for lucre was unrestrained either by justice or by shame. He had the effrontery to ask for a thousand louis more, in order to enable him to bring his niece, Madame Denis, the ugliest of coquettes, in his company. The indelicate rapacity of the poet produced its natural effect on the severe and frugal king. The answer was a dry refusal. "I did not," said his majesty, "solicit the honor of the lady's society." On this, Voltaire went off into a paroxysm of childish rage. "Was there ever such avarice? He has hundreds of tubs full of dollars in his vaults, and haggles with me about a poor thousand louis." It seemed that the negotiation

would be broken off; but Frederic, with great dexterity, affected indifference, and seemed inclined to transfer his idolatry to Baculard d'Arnaud. His majesty even wrote some bad verses, of which the sense was that Voltaire was a setting sun and that Arnaud was rising. Good-natured friends soon carried the lines to Voltaire. He was in his bed. He jumped out in his shirt, danced about the room with rage and sent for his passport and his post-horses. It was not difficult to foresee the end of a connection which had such a beginning.

It was in the year 1750 that Voltaire left the great capital, which he was not to see again till, after the lapse of nearly thirty years, he returned, bowed down by extreme old age, to die in the midst of a splendid and ghastly triumph. His reception in Prussia was such as might well have elated a less vain and excitable mind. He wrote to his friends at Paris, that the kindness and the attention with which he had been welcomed surpassed description —that the king was the most amiable of men—that Potsdam was the Paradise of philosophers. He was created chamberlain and received, together with his gold key, the cross of an order, and a patent insuring to him a pension of eight hundred pounds sterling a year for life. A hundred and sixty pounds a year were promised to his niece if she survived him. The royal cooks and coachmen were put at his disposal. He was lodged in the same apartment in which Saxe had lived, when, at the height of power and glory, he visited Prussia. Frederic, indeed, stooped for a time even to use the language of adulation. He pressed to his lips the meagre hand of the little grinning skeleton, whom he regarded as the dispenser of immortal renown. He would add, he said, to the titles which he owed to his ancestors and his sword, another title, derived from his last and proudest acquisition. His style should run thus:—Frederic, King of Prussia, Margrave of Bradenburg, Sovereign Duke of Silesia, Possessor of Voltaire. But even amidst the delights of the honey-moon, Voltaire's sensitive vanity began to take alarm. A few days after his arrival he could not help telling his niece that the amiable king had a trick of giving a sly scratch with one hand while patting and stroking with the other. Soon came hints not the less alarming because mysterious. "The supper parties are delicious. The king is the life of the company. But—I have operas and comedies, reviews and concerts, my studies and books. But—but —Berlin is fine, the princess charming, the maids of honor handsome. But"——

This eccentric friendship was fast cooling. Never had there met two persons so exquisitely fitted to plague each other. Each of them had exactly the fault of which the other was most impatient; and they were, in different ways, the most impatient of mankind. Frederic was frugal, almost niggardly. When he had secured his plaything, he began to think he had bought it too dear. Voltaire, on the other hand, was greedy, even to the extent of impudence and knavery; and conceived that the favorite of a monarch, who had barrels full of gold and silver laid up in cellars, ought to make a fortune which a receiver-general might envy. They soon discovered each other's feelings. Both were angry, and a war began, in which Frederic stooped to the part of Harpagon and Voltaire to that of Scapin. It is humiliating to relate that the great warrior and statesman gave orders that his guest's allowance of sugar and chocolate should be curtailed. It is, if possible, a still more humiliating fact that Voltaire indemnified himself by pocketing the wax-candles in the royal antechamber. Disputes about money, however, were not the most serious disputes of these extraordinary associates. The sarcasms soon galled the sensitive temper of the poet. D'Arnaud and d'Argens, Guichard and La Métrie might, for the sake of a morsel of bread, be willing to bear the insolence of a master; but Voltaire was of another order. He knew that he was a potentate as well as Frederic; that his European reputation and his incomparable power of covering whatever he hated with ridicule, made him an object of dread even to the leaders of armies and the rulers of nations. In truth, of all the intellectual weapons which have ever been wielded by man, the most terrible was the mockery of Voltaire. Bigots and tyrants, who had never been moved by the wailing and cursing of millions, turned pale at his name. Principles unassailable by reason, principles which had withstood the fiercest attacks of power, the most valuable truths, the most generous sentiments, the noblest and most graceful images, the purest reputations, the most august institutions, began to look mean and loathsome as soon as that withering smile was turned upon them. To every opponent, however strong in his cause and his talents, in his station and his character, who ventured to encounter the great scoffer, might be addressed the caution which was given of old to the Archangel:—

> "I forwarn thee, shun
> His deadly arrow; neither vainly hope
> To be invulnerable in those bright arms,

Though temper'd heavenly; for that fatal dint,
Save Him who reigns above, none can resist."

Causes of quarrel multiplied fast. Voltaire, who partly from love of money, and partly from love of excitement, was always fond of stock-jobbing, became implicated in transactions of at least a dubious character. The king was delighted at having such an opportunity to humble his guest; and bitter reproaches and complaints were exchanged. Voltaire, too, was soon at war with the other men of letters who surrounded the king; and this irritated Frederic, who, however, had himself chiefly to blame; for, from that love of tormenting which was in him a ruling passion, he perpetually lavished extravagant praises on small men and bad books, merely in order that he might enjoy the mortification and rage which on such occasions Voltaire took no pains to conceal. His majesty, however, soon had reason to regret the pains which he taken to kindle jealousy among the members of his household. The whole palace was in a ferment with literary intrigues and cabals. It was to no purpose that the imperial voice, which kept a hundred and sixty thousand soldiers in order, was raised to quiet the contention of the exasperated wits. It was far easier to stir up such a storm than to lull it. Nor was Frederic, in his capacity of wit, by any means without his own share of vexations. He had sent a large quantity of verses to Voltaire, and requested that they might be returned, with remarks and corrections. "See," exclaimed Voltaire, "what a quantity of his dirty linen the king has sent me to wash." Tale-bearers were not wanting to carry the sarcasm to the royal ear; and Frederic was as much incensed as a Grub street writer who had found his name in the "Dunciad."

This could not last. A circumstance which, when the mutual regard of the friends was in its first glow, would merely have been matter for laughter, produced a violent explosion. Maupertuis enjoyed as much of Frederic's good will as any man of letters. He was President of the Academy of Berlin, and stood second to Voltaire, though at an immense distance, in the literary society which had been assembled at the Prussian court. Frederic had, by playing for his own amusement on the feelings of the two jealous and vainglorious Frenchmen, succeeded in producing a bitter enmity between them. Voltaire resolved to set his mark—a mark never to be effaced, on the forehead of Maupertuis, and wrote the exquisitely ludicrous diatribe of *Doctor Akakia*. He showed this little piece to Frederic, who had too much taste and

too much malice not to relish such delicious pleasantry. In truth, even at this time of day, it is not easy for any person who has the least perception of the ridiculous to read the jokes on the Latin city, the Patagonians and the hole to the centre of the earth without laughing till he cries. But though Frederic was diverted by this charming pasquinade, he was unwilling that it should get abroad. His self-love was interested. He had selected Maupertuis to fill the Chair of his Academy. If all Europe were taught to laugh at Maupertuis, would not the reputation of the Academy, would not even the dignity of its royal patron be in some degree compromised? The king, therefore, begged Voltaire to suppress his performance. Voltaire promised to do so and broke his word. The diatribe was published and received with shouts of merriment and applause by all who could read the French language. The king stormed. Voltaire, with his usual disregard of truth, protested his innocence, and made up some lie about a printer or an amanuensis. The king was not to be so imposed upon. He ordered the pamphlet to be burned by the common hangman and insisted upon having an apology from Voltaire, couched in the most abject terms. Voltaire sent back to the king his cross, his key and the patent of his pension. After this burst of rage the strange pair began to be ashamed of their violence, and went through the forms of reconciliation. But the breach was irreparable, and Voltaire took his leave of Frederic forever. They parted with cold civility, but their hearts were big with resentment. Voltaire had in his keeping a volume of the king's poetry and forgot to return it. This was, we believe, merely one of the oversights which men setting out upon a journey often commit. That Voltaire could have meditated plagiarism is quite incredible. He would not, we are confident, for the half of Frederic's kingdom, have consented to father Frederic's verses. The king, however, who rated his own writings much above their value, and who was inclined to see all Voltaire's actions in the worst light, was enraged to think that his favorite compositions were in the hands of an enemy, as thievish as a daw and as mischievous as a monkey. In the anger excited by this thought, he lost sight of reason and decency, and determined on committing an outrage at once odious and ridiculous.

Voltaire had reached Frankfort. His niece, Madame Denis, came thither to meet him. He conceived himself secure from the power of his late master, when he was arrested by order of the Prussian resident. The precious volume was delivered up. But

the Prussian agents had, no doubt, been instructed not to let Voltaire escape without some gross indignity. He was confined twelve days in a wretched hovel. Sentinels with fixed bayonets kept guard over him. His niece was dragged through the mire by the soldiers. Sixteen hundred dollars were extorted from him by his insolent jailors. It is absurd to say that this outrage is not to be attributed to the king.

When at length the illustrious prisoner regained his liberty, the prospect before him was but dreary. He was an exile both from the country of his birth and from the country of his adoption. The French government had taken offence at his journey to Prussia and would not permit him to return to Paris, and in the vicinity of Prussia it was not safe for him to remain.—LORD MACAULAY.

JEAN JACQUES ROUSSEAU.

ROUSSEAU holds a unique place among the great writers of the world. An awkward, restless, sickly, peevish man, he had reached the age of fifty before he published anything that attracted general attention. Then in a few years he issued three books which were eagerly received over all Europe, and which at once had profound effect on the public mind. More than any other single cause, they produced that mode of thought which manifested itself in the French Revolution. Yet in themselves they were merely an entrancing story of love, seduction and repentance, a philosophic disquisition on society and government, a practical treatise on education in a natural manner. After the death of this remarkable character another work was published, in which beyond any other man he revealed with astounding and boastful frankness the facts of his wandering life, and the workings of his soul, good and evil singularly intermixed.

Jean Jacques Rousseau was born at Geneva, Switzerland, on the 28th of June, 1712. His family was of Huguenot origin. His mother dying in his infancy, Rousseau was brought up by his father, a sentimental, dissipated watchmaker, who imbued him with fondness for romance and admiration for liberty and patriotism as shown in Plutarch. When Jean Jacques was but ten years old, his father was obliged to flee from the city, and the boy was left to the care of hi mother's relatives. He was apprenticed to an attorney, who

discharged him for negligence; then to an engraver, who treated him badly. To minor faults the wayward boy added lying and stealing. At the age of sixteen, being accidentally shut out of the city and fearing chastisement, he crossed into Savoy. Here a Roman Catholic priest received him hospitably, being delighted at the prospect of converting a heretic. Rousseau was sent to an ecclesiastical school at Turin, where he read a recantation of the Protestant faith, but refused to study for the priesthood. Leaving the seminary with twenty francs he entered into the service of the Countess of Vercelis as footman. Here, after stealing a ribbon which was found in his possession, he persisted in laying the blame on an innocent girl, who was punished for his offence. For this wrong he expresses in his "Confessions" deep penitence. He was next in the service of a nobleman, who after treating him as a companion, dismissed him for gross misconduct. Rousseau was then received into the house of Madame de Warens, a young and pretty Swiss lady, newly converted to Catholicism, whom he had met before. She had left her husband at Lausanne, but had carried off much of his property to her new home at Annecy. She was, in fact, a sentimental deist, who made devotion and proselytism no bar to her indulgence of amorous propensities. Rousseau was one of her favorites, and by her aid was taught music and the classics. Occasionally he went off on a wandering tour, and at one time was secretary to a Greek priest who was collecting subscriptions to rebuild the Church of the Holy Sepulchre. Afterwards through Madame de Warens' influence he was employed by a survey commission appointed by the King of Sardinia. Then he returned to her house at Chambery on more intimate terms than ever, and he and his "Maman" diverted themselves with music and chemistry. Partly for the sake of his delicate health, she took a country house, Les Charmettes, for a summer residence. Here they led a delightful life, which is well described in his "Confessions." In 1738, on account of illness, he went to Montpelier, being accompanied by Madame de Larnage. But when Rousseau returned to Madame de Warens, he found that she had installed another in his place. In 1740, therefore, he went to Lyons as tutor in the family of

M. de Mably. Finding teaching irksome, he went to Paris and endeavered to introduce a new system of musical notation, but without success. Madame Dupin, however, procured for him an appointment as secretary to the French ambassador at Venice. There nearly two years were spent with little satisfaction to himself or his employer, who finally dismissed him.

Rousseau, now thirty-three years old, returned to Paris. He was employed as secretary to Madame Dupin, copied music, and became acquainted with Diderot and the other Encyclopedists. Dwelling in a room in an obscure inn, Rousseau took as his mistress Thérèse Levasseur, a servant of the place. She was a vulgar woman of twenty-four years of age, without education or understanding. His friends could not account for the attraction, yet twenty years later the fantastic dreamer married her. During all this time Thérèse and her mother preyed on his means and aggravated his suspicious temper. They made mischief between him and his friends. According to his own account, five children which were born to them were coolly consigned to the Foundling Hospital. Within a year after his arrival at Paris, Rousseau was employed as clerk by a farmer-general. Part of his income was sent to Madame de Warens, who was now in need. Various musical projects had no success, but in 1748 Diderot and D'Alembert engaged him to write musical articles for the "Encyclopédie." Though his genius for music was great, his instruction in the science was imperfect, and his articles on it are superficial. In 1749 the Academy of Dijon offered a prize for an essay on the effect of the progress of civilization on morals. Rousseau, having read of the offer in a newspaper, thought of maintaining that progress had been beneficial to morals. But on going to visit Diderot then in prison at Vincennes for his "Letter on the Blind," that writer pointed out that support of the opposite view would attract more attention. On reflection it seemed to Rousseau that a new world of thought had been opened to him. He dashed off a vehement denunciation of civilized life and its attendant evils. His essay displayed such ingenuity and eloquence that it not only won the prize, but captivated the salons of the time. His company was much sought by fashionable people, until the

brilliant writer was found to be shy, awkward and even dull in conversation.

Rousseau's comedy, "Narcisse," written long before, was first acted in 1752. His musical reputation was enhanced at the same time by his opera, "Le Devin du Village." (The Village Fortune-Teller.) Simple both in style and construction, it contains charming melodies, and is marked throughout by refined taste. But the author's letter on French music offended the people, for it declared that the nation had not any vocal music of its own, and, and could not have on account of defects in the language. This seemed an ungracious return for the favor shown to his own performance. His severe attack on the grand opera brought a storm of resentment on his head. The performers at the Opera were so enraged at the author that they hanged and burnt him in effigy, whilst he pleasantly returned thanks to those who at length had withdrawn him from the torture. In 1753 the Academy at Dijon again offered a prize for an essay, the subject being "The Origin of Inequality among Mankind." Rousseau again competed, but was unsuccessful, though his writing was probably not inferior to that which had first won him fame.

Returning to Geneva in 1754, Rousseau was full of republican enthusiasm. He abjured the Roman Catholic religion, professed himself again a Calvinist, and was restored to his rights of citizenship. Rousseau indeed never was an atheist nor a mocker of Christianity. He reverenced the morality of the Scriptures, little as he obeyed it in his life. The simple pleasure that he had enjoyed in the household of Madame de Warens was his highest social ideal. Writing of that period in his life, he says, "I will even dare to say that she knew only one true pleasure in the world, and that was to give pleasure to those whom she loved. . . . I felt all my attachment for her only when she was out of my sight. So long as I could see her I was merely happy and satisfied, but in her absence my disquiet went so far as to be painful." His after life was a continual regret for this lost Paradise. His works abound in pictures of a simple rustic life of domestic peace, remote from the noises of the world. Connected with these is his love of the country, and delight in the beauties of na-

ture, which made his works a revelation to his contemporaries. In April, 1756, Rousseau, having returned to Paris, accepted the invitation of Madame d'Epinay to take up his residence on her estate in the valley of Montmorency. Here in a cottage fitted up for him, called the Hermitage, he lived a studious life and yet had access to cultivated society. "*La Nouvelle Héloïse*" (The New Eloisa) partly represents the love which he indulged for Madame d'Houdetot, the sister-in-law of Madame d'Epinay. She was a young and very plain but amiable lady, who had already a husband and a lover. She seems to have been partly pleased and partly annoyed at the new-comer's attentions. But the Levasseurs, mother and daughter, were not satisfied, and in the following winter, they induced Rousseau to remove to Montlouis, not far off. He had quarreled with Madame d'Epinay and Diderot and others of the *philosophes*. In 1758 Rousseau published a letter to D'Alembert, who had defended the theatre in the "Encyclopédie." The letter opposed the introduction of the theatre into Geneva and was thus an attack on Voltaire, who was then giving theatrical exhibitions in that vicinity. Henceforth that imperious satirist was a bitter enemy of the simple Swiss republican. But Rousseau, though hated by the *philosophes*, found generous friends in the Duke and Duchess of Luxembourg. During his residence in the neighborhood of Montmorency his most brilliant writings were composed. His famous novel, "*Julie ou La Nouvelle Héloïse*," appeared in 1760, and was immensely popular. It is written in letters which tell of love springing up between a girl of noble birth and her poor tutor, her marriage to a free-thinker of her own rank, the lover's consequent distress, and its partial alleviation by the advice and assistance of a sympathetic English noble. It is full of sentiment, pathos and dangerous morality. In 1762 Rousseau put forth his philosophical treatise on government, the "*Contrat Social*," which declared the basis of government to be the consent of the governed, express or implied. Soon afterward came "*Emile*," which exhibited, in narrative form, a natural system of education. It suggests most of the improvements, which have since been made in education, and yet is full of unpractical whimsicalities. On account of the

rigid censorship at Paris, these books were first printed and published in the Netherlands. Nevertheless through the enterprise of book-sellers and the demand of the reading classes, they soon circulated freely in France. But all these works encountered fierce opposition. The "*Nouvelle Héloïse*" was pronounced immoral. The "*Contrat Social*" was obviously opposed to the existing monarchy of France. In "*Emile*" one of the most striking parts is the profession of faith made by the Savoyard vicar, which is simply a system of morality based on the Sermon on the Mount, with no theological dogmas. By it Rousseau offended not only the orthodox Catholics, but also the atheistic *philosophes*. The Archbishop of Paris condemned it, and the Parliament of Paris ordered it to be burnt. Some noble friends warned the author that he would be arrested as a criminal if he did not flee, and assisted his escape. He sought refuge in Switzerland, and went to Berne. But even here he was dislodged by the authorities, much to his astonishment. He passed over to Motiers Travers, in the principality of Neuchâtel, which then belonged to Prussia. Here the governor, Marshal Keith, gave the fugitive a hospitable reception. Rousseau then published an eloquent and forcible "Letter to the Archbishop of Paris, Christophe de Beaumont," in reply to his pastoral, condemning "*Emile*." His "Letters from the Mountain" were a remonstrance against the proceedings of the Council of Geneva, which had joined in the condemnation of its chief citizen. He now formally renounced this citizenship. The pastors of Neuchâtel were stirred against him, and a consistory assembled, but its proceedings were stopped by the government. The people, however, insulted him, and after a nocturnal attack on his house, he sought a new refuge in an island in the Lake of Bienne. But this belonged to Berne, and though the persecuted author promised not to publish any more, he was ordered to quit the territory. He went to Strasburg, and was kindly received by Marshal de Contades. He thought of going to Berlin to live under the protection of Frederic the Great, but suddenly changed his plan and in 1765 appeared in Paris, in the Armenian dress which he had worn for some time past.

David Hume, who was the English *chargé d'affaires* at the French capital, offered the exile an asylum in England. He arrived in January, 1766, and Thérèse came later, under the care of James Boswell. Rousseau was welcomed in London, and became the lion of the day. England was proud of showing the freedom of her institutions. For a while this treatment gratified the vanity of the man who imagined himself to be the most important personage in Europe, and fancied that a general conspiracy had been formed against him. But soon he declared himself tired of the capital, and Hume procured for him the free use of a country house at Wootton, in Derbyshire, belonging to Mr. Davenport. Hume also procured for the exile a pension, which King George III. granted on condition of its being kept secret. At Wootton, which was rather bleak and lonely, Rousseau wrote the first six books of his extraordinary "Confessions." He might have been happy had his suspicious, uneasy, self-tormenting nature permitted. If he had been sane before, he was certainly not so now. He quarreled with both his benefactors, Hume and Davenport. A letter had been published at Paris in the name of Frederic of Prussia, which exposed poor Rousseau to ridicule. It was really written by Horace Walpole, but Rousseau charged it on Hume. Many other offences were attributed to this good-natured friend, one of which was that he would not allow Thérèse to sit at the table with him. Yet at times he was filled with remorse and embraced his friend with tears. He refused the royal pension, believing it to be intended as a means of destroying his character for independence. Finally, his diseased mind was fully convinced that plots were formed against him, and in May, 1767, he fled to France.

Rousseau, now fifty-five years of age, was received there by the Marquis de Mirabeau, father of the great Mirabeau, and afterwards by other helpers, all of whom he treated as he had treated Hume. In the course of his wanderings he continued his "Confessions," and occasionally read them to his acquaintances. His "Dictionary of Music," published at Geneva in 1767, displayed his taste, but was defective in science. Its attacks on French music revived former criticisms upon him. Botany also engaged much of the wanderer's attention, and

the summer of 1768 was spent in collecting plants on the mountains of Dauphiné. In 1770 he returned to Paris, and though cautioned against showing himself in public, he paid no heed to the warning. He supported himself by copying music, and repeatedly refused the offers of pecuniary assistance. When his "Confessions" were finished, not to be published till after his death, he wrote "Dialogues," and began his "Reveries of a Solitary Wanderer," intended as a sequel to the "Confessions." In 1775 his melodrama, "Pygmalion," was performed with success. After his death a collection of songs and other musical pieces was published under the title of "The Consolations of the Miseries of my Life." His health, which had never been robust, seriously failed, and he was suffering from poverty when the Marquis de Girardin, in 1778, offered him a cottage on his estate at Ermenonville. He had inhabited this retreat only a few weeks when he died on July 2d, of an apoplectic stroke, at the age of sixty-six. The marquis erected for him on an island in a lake a monument with the inscription, "Here rests the Man of Nature and of Truth." Sixteen years later the French people, in the excitement of the new republic, removed the body to the Pantheon, now the church of St. Genevieve, where his tomb remains.

The strange character of Rousseau, his life and works, and his effect on subsequent events, are still interesting subjects of discussion. His moral character, like his bodily health, was weak. He had a strong longing for ideal good, a deep sympathy with the poor and oppressed, an intense love for the beauties of nature. In spite of his own weakness and frailties, he had a high appreciation of human nature, and insisted that good intentions are the most important part of morality. Hence he was bold enough in his "Confessions," in which he records his sins and faults without disguise, to assert that he is the best of men. He dares even to declare that he will present his book to the Supreme Judge as his vindication. It is to be noted that while the "Confessions" raise his merits as an author, they lower his reputation as a man. Yet it may be urged in his behalf that he was laboring under hallucinations while writing them. It was his extreme sensitiveness to the words and acts of others that led to many quarrels with friends

and benefactors. He was, indeed, as Hume said, born "without a skin."

A single generation was sufficient to enable Rousseau's political ideas to permeate the French people. In the Revolution of 1789 the leaders accepted his writings as of the highest authority. Their rash attempt to overthrow the civilization whose evils he had denounced and to return to that primitive state of innocence whose blessings he had eloquently portrayed, resulted in frightful disasters to themselves and all Europe. And yet eventually much good came from the wreck, and in the reconstruction of society some of Rousseau's dreams were partially realized. All governments now aim, or profess to aim, at the greatest good of the greatest number, which was really what he desired.

In literature the influence of Rousseau has been more extensive and permanent. His warm, energetic style was imitated by Bernardin de Saint Pierre and by Chateaubriand, and by them transmitted to Victor Hugo and Renan. In description of the beauties of nature and of their effect upon the human mind he was without a rival or a precursor. The love and admiration of nature displayed in his works were diffused through Europe, and have become a distinctive feature of the literature of the nineteenth century. He was also a masterly delineator of the passions of the human heart. Though in this he had predecessors, he greatly excelled them. His literary faults lay in the excess of sentiment, exaggeration of trifles, and tendency to diffuseness. Yet even in these there was a sincere exhibition of his own sensitive disposition. During his life the gay and satirical Voltaire reigned supreme in French literature and literary society, while the serious and sentimental Rousseau was persecuted by all classes and driven about from one asylum to another. But since their deaths the works of Voltaire are little read, though his career is studied, while the writings of Rousseau are more highly prized, and students are amazed at the effects they produced.

Rousseau's Correspondence with Frederic II.

Rousseau reached the territory of the canton of Berne, and alighted at the house of an old friend at Yverdun, where the native air, the beauty of the spot, and the charms of the season

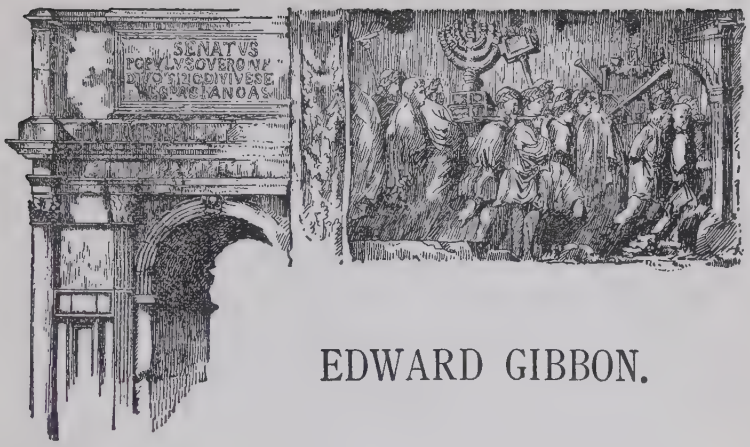
immediately repaired all weariness and fatigue. Friends at Geneva wrote letters of sincere feeling, joyful that he had not followed the precedent of Socrates too closely by remaining in the power of a government eager to destroy him. A post or two later brought worse news. The council at Geneva ordered not only Emilius, but the Social Contract also, to be publicly burnt, and issued a warrant of arrest against their author, if he should set foot in the territory of the Republic (June 19, 1762). Rousseau could hardly believe it possible that the free government which he had held up to the reverence of Europe could have condemned him unheard, but he took occasion in a highly characteristic manner to chide severely a friend at Geneva who had publicly taken his part. Within a fortnight this blow was followed by another. His two books were reported to the senate of Berne, and Rousseau was informed by one of the authorities that a notification was on its way admonishing him to quit the canton within the space of fifteen days. This stroke he avoided by flight to Motiers, a village in the principality of Neuchâtel (July 10th), then part of the dominions of the king of Prussia.

Rousseau had some antipathy to Frederick, both because he had beaten the French, whom Rousseau loved, and because his maxims and his conduct alike seemed to trample under foot respect for the natural law and many human duties. He had composed a verse to the effect that Frederick thought like a philosopher and acted like a king, philosopher and king notoriously being words of equally evil sense in his dialect. There was also a passage in Emilius about Adrastus, king of Daunians, which was commonly uuderstood to mean Frederick, king of the Prussians. Still Rousseau was acute enough to know that mean passions usually only rule the weak, and have little hold over the strong. He boldly wrote both to the king and to Lord Marischal, the governor of the principality, informing them that he was there, and asking permission to remain in the only asylum left for him upon the earth. He compared himself loftily to Coriolanus among the Volscians, and wrote to the king in a vein that must have amused the strong man, "I have said much ill of you, perhaps I shall still say more; yet driven from France, from Geneva, from the canton of Berne, I am come to seek shelter in your states. Perhaps I was wrong in not beginning there; this is eulogy of which you are worthy. Sire, I have deserved no grace from you, and I seek none, but I thought it my duty to inform your majesty that I am in your power, and that I am so of design. Your majesty will dispose of me as shall seem good to you."

Frederick, though no admirer of Rousseau or his writings, readily granted the required permission. He also, says Lord Marischal, "gave me orders to furnish him his small necessaries if he would accept them; and though that king's philosophy be very different from that of Jean Jacques, yet he does not think that a man of an irreproachable life is to be persecuted because his sentiments are singular. He designs to build him a hermitage with a little garden, which I find he will not accept, nor perhaps the rest, which I have not yet offered him." When the offer of the flour, wine and firewood was at length made in as delicate terms as possible, Rousseau declined the gift on grounds which may raise a smile, but which are not without a rather touching simplicity. "I have enough to live on for two or three years," he said, "but if I were dying of hunger, I would rather, in the present condition of your good prince, and not being of any service to him, go and eat grass and grub up roots than accept a morsel of bread from him." Hume might well call this a phenomenon in the world of letters, and one very honorable for the person concerned; and we recognize its dignity the more when we contrast it with the baseness of Voltaire in drawing his pension from the king of Prussia, while Frederick was in his most urgent straits, and while he was sportively exulting in the malicious expectation that he would one day have to allow the king of Prussia himself a pension. And Rousseau was a poor man, living among the poor and in their style. His annual outlay at this time was covered by the modest sum of sixty louis. What stamps his refusal of Frederick's gifts as true dignity is the fact that he not only did not refuse money for his work, but expected and asked for it. Malesherbes at this very time begged him to collect plants for him. "Joyfully," replied Rousseau, "but as I cannot subsist without the aid of my own labor, I never meant, in spite of the pleasure that it might otherwise have been to me, to offer you the use of my time for nothing."

In the same year, when the tremendous struggle of the Seven Years' War was closing, the philosopher wrote a second terse epistle to the king, and with this their direct communication came to an end. "Sire, you are my protector and my benefactor; I would fain repay you if I can. You wish to give me bread; is there none of your own subjects in want of it? Take that sword away from my sight, it dazzles and pains me. It has done its work only too well, and the sceptre is abandoned. Great is the career for kings of your stuff, and you are still far from the term; time

presses, and you have not a moment to lose. Fathom well your heart, O Frederick! Can you dare to die without having been the greatest of men? Would that I could see Frederick the just and the redoubtable covering his states with multitudes of men to whom he should be a father; then will J. J. Rousseau, the foe of kings, hasten to die at the foot of his throne." Frederick, strong as his interest was in all curious persons who could amuse him, was too busy to answer this, and Rousseau was not yet recognized as Voltaire's rival in power and popularity.—JOHN MORLEY.



EDWARD GIBBON.

GIBBON still holds his place as the greatest of English historians. In spite of the vast change which has come in regard to the spirit of history, his work is still the highest authority on most of the period of which it treats. That period of twelve centuries is the bridge between the ancient heathen world and the modern Christian system. The history is a memorable monument of the empire whose decline and fall it relates.

Edward Gibbon was born at Putney, Surrey, England, on the 27th of April, 1737. He was descended from a Kentish family of considerable antiquity. His grandfather was a London merchant, and his father a member of Parliament. In a family of seven children, Edward, the eldest, was the only one that survived childhood. His health was feeble, and he owed much for mind and body to his maiden aunt. His physical weakness and timid reserve unfitted him for schools, which were tried for a few years. Yet his appetite for reading was strongly developed, and after a time it settled upon historical works, and especially those relating to the East. These he read in French and Latin, as well as English. At the age of sixteen he got rid of the maladies of his earlier years, and thenceforth enjoyed moderate health. He was then sent to Magdalen College, Oxford, though imperfectly prepared. The fourteen months spent there he pronounced

"the most idle and unprofitable" of his life. Yet he continued his random reading, and was already meditating authorship. The most surprising incident of his career was his conversion to Roman Catholicism in 1755. This was accomplished by his reading Bossuet and Parsons, who convinced him that the distinguishing Roman doctrines prevailed in the early Christian Church. Having abjured Protestantism, he was admitted to the Catholic Church in London, and reported the fact to his father. Being expelled from Oxford on this account, he was sent to pursue his further studies with M. Pavilliard, a Calvinist minister, at Lausanne, Switzerland. During his five years' residence, French became more familiar to him than English. A wide and judicious course of study was pursued in history, logic and mathematics. After eighteen months, he renounced his Romanism, and received the sacrament in the church at Lausanne. Besides cultivating various accomplishments, Gibbon entered into the society of the neighborhood, and made a tour of Switzerland. In 1757 Voltaire came to reside at Lausanne, and Gibbon eagerly sought an introduction. He also fell in love with Mademoiselle Susanna Curchod, daughter of a neighboring pastor, but his father forbade the alliance. In his own words, "After a painful struggle I yielded to my fate; I sighed as a lover, I obeyed as a son. My wound was insensibly healed by time, absence and the habits of a new life." The lady became the wife of Jacques Necker, a Genevese banker, afterwards famous as the minister of finance under Louis XVI.

In 1758 Gibbon returned to England, and divided his time between London and his father's country-seat at Buriton. A large and valuable library was gradually gathered, and its contents diligently perused. His first publication appeared in 1761, an essay in French "On the Study of Literature," which attracted more attention abroad than at home, even when translated into English. In June, 1759, Gibbon became a captain in the Hampshire militia, and gave more than two years to this "military servitude," improving his health, enlarging his knowledge of the world, and removing somewhat of his foreign manners. From the discipline of a modern battalion a clearer notion was obtained of the ancient phalanx

and legion. The militia was disbanded at the end of 1762, and Gibbon spent two years and a half in a Continental tour. The intellectual life of Paris gave him the utmost delight, but Rome aroused his historical genius. As he has recorded, "It was at Rome, on the 15th of October, 1764, as I sat musing amidst the ruins of the Capitol, while the barefooted friars were singing vespers in the temple of Jupiter, that the idea of writing the Decline and Fall of the city first started to my mind." Yet several years elapsed before the wish was carried into effect. The writer was still dependent for income on his father, who had hoped he might secure some public employment. His connection with the militia was renewed and consumed considerable time. An introduction to the history was written in French, and, as an anonymous production, was read to a literary society in London in 1767. It was condemned by the majority, and Gibbon acquiesced in the verdict. With a Swiss friend who had assisted in the history, Gibbon published a French literary journal, of which two volumes attained a limited circulation.

It was not until 1768 that Gibbon devoted himself earnestly and systematically to the preparation of his great work. He then read steadily all the literature of the Roman Empire from Trajan to the triumph of the Barbarians, and investigated all the commentators and archæologists. The death of his father in 1770 somewhat interrupted his plans, and not until October, 1772, did he fairly commence writing. The first chapter was composed thrice; the second and third twice, before his critical taste was satisfied. When he had further practice, his materials were more readily brought into shape, and his composition was more rapid. The first quarto volume was published in February, 1776. Its success was immediate both with the public and the critics. Three editions were speedily called for. Hume and Robertson, renowned for their historical labors, sent letters of congratulation to their young rival. Yet the voice of censure was soon heard. In the fifteenth and sixteenth chapters Gibbon had set forth in a skeptical manner the reasons for the triumph of Christianity, apart from any admission of its Divine origin. He also pronounced it one of the causes of the downfall of the Empire

by its diversion of moral energy from civic to ascetic and ecclesiastical practices. These views soon provoked an animated controversy. Bishop Watson and others replied vigorously to Gibbon's attack on Christianity, but the historian's "Vindication," published in 1779, completely overthrew their charges of misrepresenting the authorities.

In 1774, Gibbon through the favor of a friend had obtained a seat in Parliament, but he never took part in a debate. His talent was by no means adapted to the ready discussion of practical affairs and his feeble voice was unable to be heard. Yet in 1779 he prepared for the government an able reply in French to the declaration made by France before entering on war with Great Britain. For this service he obtained a seat on the Board of Trade. On the fall of Lord North's ministry this Board was abolished in 1782, and Gibbon lost the place with its salary of nearly £800. He retired from Parliament, sold his property, and removed to Lausanne in September, 1783. Here, in company with his friend, Deyverden, he had a charming home with environment adapted to the prosecution of his studies and literary labors. Two more volumes had appeared while he was in England, and the fourth was published in 1784; the sixth and last volume was completed in 1787, and published on the fifty-first anniversary of his birth. The whole work was liberally praised for its wide comprehension and unflagging vigor, though its skeptical tone and occasional indecency still provoked censure.

Gibbon had gone to London to superintend the publication of the last three volumes of his great work. He returned to Switzerland with some vague schemes of fresh literary activity, but he was filled with sorrow to find his friend Deyverden dying. He prepared his own "Memoirs," in which he reviews his career with delightful frankness. He was unable to fix on any theme worthy of his genius. The preliminary movements of the French Revolution seem to have disturbed his peace of mind. He returned to England in June, 1793. In the following November he was compelled to submit to a surgical operation for a neglected ailment. But the trouble returned, and on January 15, 1794, he expired.

Gibbon was of low stature, with a large head; his legs

were slim, and his feet large. In youth he was thin, but he early became corpulent. His voice was shrill, his manners rather formal. He was shy and timid in society, and appeared dull, but when made to feel at home, his conversation was interesting, and showed the sounding language of his writings. He was deficient in general benevolence, but was warmly attached to a few friends. Though he achieved a stupendous intellectual work, he was in actual life a moderate Epicurean.

Gibbon's "Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire," the greatest historical work in the English language, is one of the grandest achievements in the world's literature. It is admirable for the just proportion of its vast design, subordinating an infinite variety of subjects to the predominant idea. It comprises the history of the world for many centuries, showing not only how the ancient civilization decayed, but how the new order of Christendom was instituted in its place. It treats of the development of Roman law, the conflict of hostile religions and philosophies, the invasion of successive hosts of barbarians, their gradual reclamation and modification, the general rise of modern nations. The style is splendid and picturesque, well fitted to the grandeur of the theme. The whole work is remarkable for its careful condensation and general accuracy. Few errors have been detected even by the thorough research of the latest archæologists. The chief fault to be found is the thoroughly skeptical, and sometimes scoffing tone in the treatment of the central fact, the Christian religion. The historian shows little regard for its moral dignity, but delights rather to expose the faults and inconsistencies of its professed adherents. It has been carefully edited by Rev. H. H. Milman and by Dr. William Smith, whose notes point out the few corrections to be made in statement of facts. Milman's "History of Latin Christianity" treats much of the same period in fuller detail and from a more reverent point of view.

The Coliseum of Rome.

The amphitheatre of Titus has obtained the name of the Coliseum, either from its magnitude or from Nero's colossal statue.

This edifice, had it been left to time and nature, might perhaps have claimed an eternal duration. The curious antiquaries who have computed the numbers and seats, are disposed to believe that above the upper row of stone steps the amphitheatre was encircled and elevated with several stages of wooden galleries, which were repeatedly consumed by fire, and restored by the emperors. Whatever was precious, or portable, or profane, the statues of gods and heroes, and the costly ornaments of sculpture which were cast in brass or overspread with leaves of silver and gold, became the first prey of conquest or fanaticism, of the avarice of the barbarians or the Christians. In the massy stones of the Coliseum many holes are discerned, and the two most probable conjectures represent the various accidents of its decay. These stones were connected by solid links of brass or iron, nor had the eye of rapine overlooked the value of the baser metals; the vacant space was converted into a fair or market; the artisans of the Coliseum are mentioned in an ancient survey; and the chasms were perforated or enlarged to receive the poles that supported the shops or tents of the mechanic trades. Reduced to its naked majesty, the Flavian amphitheatre was contemplated with awe and admiration by the pilgrims of the North; and their rude enthusiasm broke forth in a sublime proverbial expression, which is recorded in the eighth century, in the fragments of the venerable Bede: "As long as the Coliseum stands, Rome shall stand; when the Coliseum falls, Rome will fall; when Rome falls, the world will fall." In the modern system of war a situation commanded by the three hills would not be chosen for a fortress; but the strength of the walls and arches could resist the engines of assault; a numerous garrison might be lodged in the inclosure; and while one faction occupied the Vatican and the Capitol, the other was intrenched in the Lateran and the Coliseum.

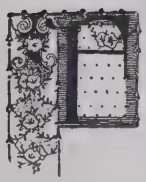
The abolition at Rome of the ancient games must be understood with some latitude; and the carnival sports of the Testacean Mount and the Circus Agonalis were regulated by the law or custom of the city. The senator presided with dignity and pomp to adjudge and distribute the prizes, the gold ring, or the *pallium*, as it was styled, of cloth or silk. A tribute on the Jews supplied the annual expense; and the races on foot, on horseback, or in chariots, were ennobled by a tilt and tournament of seventy-two of the Roman youth. In the year 1332 a bull-feast, after the fashion of the Moors and Spaniards, was celebrated in the Coliseum itself; and the living manners are painted in a diary of the times.

A convenient order of benches was restored, and a general proclamation as far as Rimini and Ravenna invited the nobles to exercise their skill and courage in this perilous adventure. The Roman ladies were marshaled in three squadrons and seated in three balconies, which on this day, the third of September, were lined with scarlet cloth. The fair Jacova di Rovere led the matrons from beyond the Tiber, a pure and native race, who still represent the features and character of antiquity. The remainder of the city was divided as usual between the Colonna and Ursini: the two factions were proud of the number and beauty of their female bands; the charms of Savella Ursini are mentioned with praise, and the Colonna regretted the absence of the youngest of their house, who had sprained her ankle in the garden of Nero's tower. The lots of the champions were drawn by an old and respectable citizen; and they descended into the arena, or pit, to encounter the wild bulls, on foot as it should seem, with a single spear. Amidst the crowd our annalist has selected the names, colors and devices of twenty of the most conspicuous knights. Several of the names are the most illustrious of Rome and the Ecclesiastical State: Malatesta, Polenta, Della Valle, Cafarello, Savelli, Capoccio, Conti, Annibaldi, Altieri, Corsi: the colors were adapted to their taste and situation; the devices are expressive of hope or despair, and breathe the spirit of gallantry and arms. "I am alone, like the youngest of the Horatii," the confidence of an intrepid stranger; "I live disconsolate," a weeping widower; "I burn under the ashes," a discreet lover; "I adore Lavinia or Lucretia," the ambiguous declaration of a modern passion; "My faith is as pure," the motto of a white livery; "Who is stronger than myself?" of a lion's hide; "If I am drowned in blood, what a pleasant death!" the wish of ferocious courage. The pride or prudence of the Ursini restrained them from the field, which was occupied by three of their hereditary rivals, whose inscriptions denoted the lofty greatness of the Colonna name: "Though sad I am strong;" "Strong as I am great;" "If I fall," addressing himself to the spectators, "you fall with me"—intimating (says the contemporary writer) that while the other families were the subjects of the Vatican, they alone were the supporters of the Capitol. The combats of the amphitheatre were dangerous and bloody. Every champion successively encountered a wild bull; and the victory may be ascribed to the quadrupeds, since no more than eleven were left on the field, with the loss of nine wounded and eighteen killed on the side of their adversaries. Some of the

noblest families might mourn; but the pomp of the funerals in the churches of St. John Lateran and Sta. Maria Maggiore afforded a second holiday to the people. Doubtless it was not in such conflicts that the blood of the Romans should have been shed; yet in blaming their rashness we are compelled to applaud their gallantry; and the noble volunteers who display their magnificence and risk their lives under the balconies of the fair, excite a more generous sympathy than the thousands of captives and malefactors who were reluctantly dragged to the scene of slaughter.

This use of the amphitheatre was a rare, perhaps a singular, festival; the demand for the materials was a daily and continual want which the citizens could gratify without restraint or remorse. In the fourteenth century a scandalous act of concord secured to both factions the privilege of extracting stones from the free and common quarry of the Coliseum; and Poggius laments that the greater part of these stones had been burnt to lime by the folly of the Romans. To check this abuse, and to prevent the nocturnal crimes that might be perpetrated in the vast and gloomy recess, Eugenius the Fourth surrounded it with a wall; and by a charter long extant, granted both the ground and edifice to the monks of an adjacent convent. After his death the wall was overthrown in a tumult of the people, and had they themselves respected the noblest monument of their fathers, they might have justified the resolve that it should never be degraded to private property. The inside was damaged, but in the middle of the sixteenth century, an era of taste and learning, the exterior circumference of one thousand six hundred and twelve feet was still entire and inviolate; a triple elevation of fourscore arches which rose to the height of one hundred and eight feet. Of the present ruin, the nephews of Paul the Third are the guilty agents; and every traveler who views the Farnese palace may curse the sacrilege and luxury of these upstart princes. A similar reproach is applied to the Barberini; and the repetition of injury might be dreaded from every reign, till the Coliseum was placed under the safeguard of religion by the most liberal of the pontiffs, Benedict the Fourteenth, who consecrated a spot which persecution and fable had stained with the blood of so many Christian martyrs.—E. GIBBON.

SIR JOHN MOORE.



EW English poems are better known than "The Burial of Sir John Moore," and few retreats have been more highly praised by military critics than that in which he lost his life, yet his career and merits are not familiar to general readers.

John Moore was born at Glasgow, Scotland, on November 13, 1761. His father, bearing the same name, was a physician, but was specially distinguished as the author of "Zeluco," a novel depicting vividly an unprincipled profligate. It suggested to Byron many features of his "Childe Harold." In 1772 Dr. Moore was appointed tutor to the young Duke of Hamilton, then sixteen years of age, and with him and his own son traveled over Europe. At Berlin, in 1775, they attended Frederic the Great's reviews, which increased young Moore's desire for a military career. Being appointed an ensign, he joined the Fifty-first Regiment in 1777, and learned his drill in Minorca. When a Highland regiment was raised by the Duke of Hamilton in 1779 for service in America, young Moore went with it as lieutenant. It was stationed at Halifax, but in 1781 Moore went to New York, only to learn that the surrender of Lord Cornwallis had ended the war. When peace was declared in 1783, his regiment was disbanded.

Moore was then elected to Parliament by four Scotch boroughs. He did not speak, but generally voted for Pitt's measures. He won the friendship of that minister and of the Duke of York. In 1788 Moore returned to the Fifty-first regiment, then stationed at Cork, Ireland. At first as major, afterwards as lieutenant-colonel, his strict discipline raised the

regiment to high efficiency. In 1792 it was ordered to Gibraltar, and thence to Corsica, where Moore was prominent in many assaults on fortified places, especially Calvi. After the expulsion of the French in 1795, Sir Gilbert Elliot was made viceroy of the island, and tried to introduce English institutions. He took offence at Moore's intimacy with General Paoli and other native leaders. Consequently Moore was ordered to depart, but his removal had no injurious effect on his later career. Soon after returning to England he was gazetted brigadier-general. In the expedition which Sir Ralph Abercromby led to the West Indies in 1796, Moore was his right-hand man. His brigade was chiefly employed in subjugating the island of St. Lucia, where Frenchmen had organized the Caribs and negroes into troops. The key of the island was a fortified rock, called Morne Fortune, which was at last stormed, though with great loss. Moore was made governor of the island, and exerted himself to suppress the swarms of brigands. He seemed just on the point of triumph when he was attacked with yellow fever, and on his recovery was ordered to England in July, 1797.

Moore's next employment was with Abercromby in quelling the rebellion which had broken out in Ireland in 1796. Having command of the Bandon district, his first task was to drill and discipline the Irish militia. Then he distinguished himself by his rapid march to Dublin, by his bold charge at Taghmore, and by saving Wexford from destruction after the battle. The rebels were closely pursued, and in three weeks had surrendered or dispersed. The French force, which then landed, was obliged to lay down its arms before any serious fighting occurred. In 1799 Abercromby led an expedition into Holland, and again insisted on having Moore's help. But the Dutch thwarted the movement against the French, and the campaign was fruitless. In 1800 Moore went with Abercromby to Minorca, where he prepared raw recruits for the expedition to Egypt. They landed at Aboukir Bay in March, 1801, but in the battle of Alexandria Abercromby was killed, and Moore, who led the reserve, was badly wounded. Moore was now recognized as the ablest English general.

After his return to England, Moore was made command-

ant of the camp at Shorncliffe. His chief contribution to the art of war was the organization of light infantry. He also carried out on a large scale a thorough system of internal economy of regiments which he had commenced at St. Lucia. Pitt, while Prime Minister, consulted Moore on every military project, and testified his regard by making him a Knight of the Bath in November, 1803. Fox also when he succeeded to office showed the same appreciation of Moore. In May, 1806, he appointed Moore second in command to his brother, General Fox, then ordered to Sicily. Moore is said to have been in love with Miss Fox, but did not propose marriage on account of the precariousness of his position.

In 1807 Sir John Moore, who had succeeded to the command, was ordered to return to England. In May, 1808, he was sent with 11,000 men to aid Sweden against Russia, which was then in alliance with France. The King of Sweden insisted on impracticable projects, and Moore was finally placed under arrest, but escaped from Stockholm in disguise. When he returned to England he was ordered to proceed with his division to Portugal where Sir Arthur Wellesley had already landed. The chief commands were given to Sir Hew Dalrymple and Sir Harry Burrard. Moore expressed his indignation at being ordered to serve under generals of less experience than himself, but resolved to do his duty. When the Convention of Cintra was signed the chief commanders went home. Moore was thus left in command of the largest English army since the commencement of the war with Napoleon.

Then followed the few months of Moore's special glory. He was expected to assist the Spaniards in liberating their country from the French, but the provincial Juntas were jealous of each other, and their generals took orders only from their respective Juntas. The troops were in want of food, clothing, equipment, arms and means of transportation. Frere, the English minister at Madrid, was completely deceived by the promises and assurances of the Spanish leaders. The people had no cordial feeling for the English, and refused them supplies which were readily furnished to the French. Moore had landed his troops north of Lisbon, and marched in four divisions to Salamanca, the artillery taking another route. Sir

David Baird, who arrived later, landed at Corunna, and was to join Moore at Valladolid. But in November Moore learned that Napoleon, with immensely superior forces, had already entered Spain and was driving before him the feeble Spanish armies. On November 15th the French occupied Valladolid. In opposition to the wishes of his own officers and the representations of the Junta at Madrid, Moore decided to retreat towards Corunna. On December 20th he joined Baird at Majorga, their total forces making 23,000 infantry and 2,000 cavalry. He had thought of attacking Marshal Soult, who had 18,000 men, while Junot's corps was at Burgos. But believing that Napoleon would seek to cut him off from his base, he urged on his retreat. The Spaniards did little for his assistance, and the rest of the Peninsula did nothing. His march was delayed by the bad conduct of the Spanish troops who broke into the British magazines. The discipline of the English troops failed before the intense cold, pouring rains, bad roads and scanty provisions. Drunkenness and disorder became rife, just when the French began to press on their retreat. On January 8, 1809, Moore waited for an attack by the main body of the French, but Soult refused. Four days more the retreat continued through a most difficult country in the worst weather. When the British reached Corunna they had to wait four days more for the arrival of the fleet. On January 16th, when the embarkation was ordered to take place, the French attacked in force. After a severe fight they were completely repulsed, but Sir John Moore was mortally wounded, and Sir David Baird lost his arm. Sir John Moore spent his last hours in recommending to the notice of the government the gallant officers who had stood by him in his perils. Soult, before he lelt Corunna, ordered the French consul to erect a memorial stone on the spot where Moore fell, but the French were compelled to evacuate the town before this was done. The Marquis de la Romana erected a wooden monument, and this was replaced by stone in 1811 by the Prince Regent of Spain. Moore's native city, Glasgow, erected a bronze statue. But the memory of this gallant soldier has been best preserved by the burial ode, written by the Rev. Charles Wolfe.

Napoleon said of Moore: "His talents and firmness alone saved the British army in Spain from destruction. He was a brave soldier, an excellent officer, and a man of talent. He made few mistakes, which were probably inseparable from the difficulties with which he was surrounded, and caused perhaps by his information having misled him."

The Battle of Corunna.

(January 16, 1809.)

All the encumbrances of the army were shipped in the night of the 15th and morning of the 16th, and everything was prepared to withdraw the fighting men as soon as the darkness would permit them to move them without being perceived; and the precautions taken would, without doubt, have insured the success of this difficult operation, but a more glorious event was destined to give a melancholy but graceful termination to the campaign. About two o'clock in the afternoon a general movement along the French line gave notice of an approaching battle, and the British infantry, fourteen thousand five hundred strong, immediately occupied the inferior range of hills.

The right was formed by Baird's division, and, from the oblique direction of the ridge, approached the enemy, while the centre and left were of necessity withheld in such a manner that the French battery on the rocks raked the whole of the line. General Hope's division, crossing the main road, prolonged Baird's line to the left, and occupied strong ground abutting on the muddy bank of the Mero. A brigade of Baird's division remained in column behind the right wing, and in like manner a brigade of Hope's division was behind the left wing, while Paget's reserve, posted at Airis, a small village in rear of the centre, looked down the valley which separated Baird's right from the hills occupied by Franceschi's cavalry; a battalion detached from the reserve kept these horsemen in check, and was itself connected with the main body by a chain of skirmishers extended across the valley. Fraser's division held the heights immediately before the gates of Corunna, watching the coast road, but it was also ready to succor any point.

When Laborde's division arrived, the French force was not less than twenty thousand men, and the Duke of Dalmatia made no idle evolutions of display, for distributing his lighter guns along the front of his position, he opened a fire from the heavy

battery on his left, and instantly descended the mountain with three columns, covered by clouds of skirmishers. The British pickets were driven back in disorder, and the village of Elvina was carried by the first French column, which then, dividing, attempted to turn Baird's right by the valley, and to break his front at the same time. The second column made against the English centre, and the third attacked Hope's left at the village of Palavia Abaxo. The weight of Soult's guns over-matched the English six-pounders, and the shot swept the position to the centre; but Sir John Moore, observing that, according to his expectations, the enemy did not show any body of infantry beyond that which, moving up the valley, outflanked Baird's right, ordered General Paget to carry the whole of the reserve to where the detached regiment was posted, and, as he had before arranged with him, to turn the left of the French attack and menace the great battery. Meanwhile he directed Fraser to support Paget, and then throwing back the Fourth regiment, which formed the right of Baird's division, he opened a heavy fire upon the flank of the troops penetrating up the valley, while the Fiftieth and Forty-second regiments met those breaking through Elvina. The ground about that village being intersected by stone walls and hollow roads, a severe scrambling fight ensued, the French were forced back with great loss, and the Fiftieth regiment, entering the village with them, after a second struggle drove them beyond it. Seeing this, the General ordered up a battalion of the guards to fill the void in the line made by the advance of those regiments, whereupon the Forty-second, with the exception of its grenadiers, mistaking his intention, retired, and at that moment the enemy, being reinforced, renewed the fight beyond the village; the officer commanding the Fiftieth was wounded and taken prisoner, and Elvina then became the scene of a second struggle, which being observed by the commander-in-chief, he addressed a few animating words to the Forty-second and caused it to return to the attack. During this time Paget, with the reserve, had descended into the valley, and the line of the skirmishers being thus supported, vigorously checked the advance of the enemy's troops in that quarter, while the Fourth regiment galled their flank; at the same time the centre and left of the army also became engaged, Sir David Baird was severely wounded, and a furious action ensued along the line, in the valley and on the hills.

Sir John Moore, while earnestly watching the result of the

fight about the village of Elvina, was struck on the left breast by a cannon shot; the shock threw him from his horse with violence, but he rose again in a sitting posture, his countenance unchanged, and his steadfast eye still fixed upon the regiments engaged in his front, no sigh betraying a sensation of pain. In a few moments, when he was satisfied that the troops were gaining ground, his countenance brightened, and he suffered himself to be taken to the rear. Then was seen the dreadful nature of his hurt. The shoulder was shattered to pieces, the arm was hanging by a piece of skin, the ribs over the heart were broken and bared of flesh, and the muscles of the breast torn into long strips, which were interlaced by their recoil from the dragging of the shot. As the soldiers placed him in a blanket his sword got entangled, and the hilt entered the wound; Captain Hardinge, a staff officer, who was near, attempted to take it off, but the dying man stopped him, saying, "It is as well as it is. I had rather it should go out of the field with me;" and in that manner, so becoming to a soldier, Moore was borne from the fight.

Meanwhile the army was rapidly gaining ground. The reserve, overthrowing everything in the valley, obliged La Houssaye's dragoons, who had dismounted, to retire, turned the enemy on that side, and even approached the eminence upon which the great battery was posted; on the left Colonel Nicholls, at the head of some companies of the Fourteenth carried Palavia Abaxo, which General Foy defended but feebly; in the centre the obstinate dispute for Elvina had terminated in favor of the British, and when the night set in their line was considerably advanced beyond the original position of the morning, while the French were falling back in confusion. If at this time General Fraser's division had been brought into action along with the reserve, the enemy could hardly have escaped a signal overthrow; for the little ammunition Soult had been able to bring up was nearly exhausted, the river Mero, with a full tide, was behind him, and the difficult communication by the bridge of El Burgo was alone open for a retreat. On the other hand, to continue the action in the dark was to tempt fortune; the French were still the most numerous, and their ground was strong; moreover the disorder they were in offered such a favorable opportunity to get on board the ships that Sir John Hope, upon whom the command of the army had devolved, satisfied with having repulsed the attack, judged it more prudent to pursue the original plan of embarking during the night. This operation was effected without delay,

the arrangements being so complete that neither confusion nor difficulty occurred. The pickets, kindling a number of fires, covered the retreat of the columns, and being themselves withdrawn at daybreak, were embarked under the protection of General Hill's brigade, which was posted near the ramparts of the town.

When the morning dawned the French, observing that the British had abandoned their position, pushed forward some battalions to the heights of St. Lucie, and about midday succeeded in establishing a battery, which, playing upon the shipping in the harbor, caused a great deal of disorder among the transports; several masters cut their cables and four vessels went ashore, but the troops being immediately removed by the men-of-war's boats, the stranded vessels were burnt and the whole fleet at last got out of harbor. General Hill's brigade then embarked from the citadel, while General Beresford, with a rear-guard, kept possession of that work until the 18th, when the wounded being all put on board; his troops likewise embarked; the inhabitants faithfully maintained the town against the French, and the fleet sailed for England. The loss of the British was never officially published, but was estimated at eight hundred, and that of the French at three thousand. The latter is undoubtedly an exaggeration, yet it must have been very great, for the arms of the English were all new, the ammunition fresh, and whether from the peculiar construction of our muskets, the physical strength and coolness of the men, or from all combined, it is certain that the fire of an English line is the most destructive known. The nature of the ground also prevented any movement of artillery on either side, and the French columns in their attack were exposed to grape, which they could not return because of the distance of their batteries.

From the spot where he fell, the general who had conducted the retreat was carried to the town by a party of soldiers; his blood flowed fast and the torture of his wound was great, yet such was the unshaken firmness of his mind that those about him, judging from the resolution of his countenance, that his hurt was not mortal, expressed a hope af his recovery. Hearing this, he looked steadfastly at the injury for a moment, and then said, "No, I feel that to be impossible." Several times he caused his attendants to stop and turn him round, that he might behold the field of battle; and when the firing indicated the advance of the British he discovered his satisfaction and permitted the bearers to

proceed. Being brought to his lodgings, the surgeons examined his wound, but there was no hope; the pain increased and he spoke with great difficulty. At intervals he asked if the French were beaten, and addressing his old friend, Colonel Anderson, he said, "You know that I always wished to die this way." Again he asked if the enemy were defeated, and being told they were, observed, "It is a great satisfaction to me to know we have beaten the French." His countenance continued firm and his thoughts clear, once only, when he spoke of his mother, he became agitated; but he often inquired after the safety of his friends and the officers of his staff, and he did not even in this moment forget to recommend those whose merit had given them claims to promotion. His strength failed fast and life was just extinct, when, with an unsubdued spirit, he exclaimed, "I hope the people of England will be satisfied! I hope my country will do me justice!" In a few minutes afterwards he died, and his corpse, wrapped in a military cloak, was interred by the officers of his staff in the citadel of Corunna, the guns of the enemy paid his funeral honors, and Soult, with a noble feeling of respect for his valor, raised [ordered] a monument to his memory.

Thus ended the career of Sir John Moore, a man whose uncommon capacity was sustained by the purest virtue and governed by a disinterested patriotism more in keeping with the primitive than the luxurious age of a great nation. His tall, graceful person, his dark, searching eyes, strongly defined forehead and singularly expressive mouth indicated a noble disposition and a refined understanding, while the lofty sentiments of honor habitual to his mind being adorned by a subtle, playful wit, gave him, in conversation, an ascendancy that he always preserved by the decisive vigor of his actions. He maintained the right with a vehemence bordering on fierceness, and every important transaction in which he was engaged increased his reputation for talent and confirmed his character as a stern enemy to vice, a steadfast friend to merit, a just and faithful servant of his country. The honest loved him, the dishonest feared him; for while he lived he did not shun, but scorned and spurned the base, and with characteristic propriety they spurned at him when he was dead.

A soldier from his earliest youth, Moore thirsted for the honors of his profession, and feeling that he was worthy to lead a British army, hailed the fortune that placed him at the head of the troops destined for Spain. As the stream of time passed the

inspiring hopes of triumph disappeared, but the austerer glory of suffering remained, and with a firm heart he accepted that gift of a severe fate. Confiding in the strength of his genius, he disregarded the clamors of presumptuous ignorance, and opposing sound military views to the foolish project so insolently thrust upon him by the ambassador, he conducted his long and arduous retreat with sagacity, intelligence and fortitude; no insult disturbed, no falsehood deceived him, no remonstrance shook his determination; fortune frowned without subduing his constancy; death struck, but the spirit of the man remained unbroken when his shattered body scarcely afforded it a habitation. Having done all that was just towards others, he remembered what was due to himself; neither the shock of the mortal blow, nor the lingering hours of acute pain which preceded his dissolution could quell the pride of his gallant heart, or lower the dignified feeling with which, conscious of merit, he at the last moment asserted his right to the gratitude of the country he had served so truly.—SIR WILLIAM F. P. NAPIER.

BURIAL OF SIR JOHN MOORE.

Not a drum was heard, not a funeral note,
As his corpse to the rampart we hurried;
Not a soldier discharged his farewell shot
O'er the grave where our hero we buried.

We buried him darkly, at dead of night,
The sods with our bayonets turning;
By the struggling moonbeam's misty light,
And the lantern dimly burning.

No useless coffin enclosed his breast,
Not in sheet nor in shroud we wound him;
But he lay like a warrior taking his rest
With his martial cloak around him.

Few and short were the prayers we said,
And we spoke not a word of sorrow,
But we steadfastly gazed on the face that was dead,
And we bitterly thought of the morrow.

We thought, as we hollowed his narrow bed,
And smoothed down his lonely pillow,
That the foe and the stranger would tread o'er his head,
And we far away on the billow!

Lightly they'll talk of the spirit that's gone,
And o'er his cold ashes upbraid him,—
But little he'll reck, if they let him sleep on
In the grave where a Briton has laid him.

But half of our heavy task was done
When the clock struck the hour for retiring;
And we heard the distant and random gun
That the foe was sullenly firing.

Slowly and sadly we laid him down,
From the field of his fame fresh and gory;
We carved not a line and we raised not a stone—
But we left him alone with his glory.

C. WOLFE.

SIR ROBERT PEEL.

SIR ROBERT PEEL was the leading English statesman in the early years of Queen Victoria's reign. He was twice prime minister of Great Britain. It is singular that the great measures which are chiefly associated with his name—Catholic emancipation and the repeal of the Corn Laws—were both vigorously opposed by him for some years. When convinced of the political necessity of these acts he gave them the full measure of his powers and secured their passage at the sacrifice of political consistency and the certainty of personal odium. But his changes in these and other important matters were all in accord with the advancing spirit of the age. None of his acts have been reversed by later statesmen.

Sir Robert Peel was born on the 5th of February, 1788, near Bury, Lancashire, England. His ancestors were Yorkshire yeomen who had removed to Lancashire. There his grandfather Robert, appreciating the invention of the spinning jenny, had become a wealthy man. His father also pursued the business of cotton-spinning during the wars with France, and had in his employ more than 15,000 persons. Thus he acquired a princely fortune, the bulk of which he left to his distinguished son. The father had been a staunch supporter of Pitt, and when French invasion was threatened, raised a regiment among his own workmen, of which he was appointed lieutenant-colonel. Robert, his eldest son, was educated at Harrow and at Christ's Church, Oxford. He studied hard, and when he graduated in 1808, took a double-first—that is, the first honor in both classics and mathematics. This was the first time that such a distinction was permitted by the University regulations. He was not only mentally brilliant and highly educated, but tall and vigorous and physically well developed.

His manner was reserved and somewhat haughty, his associations being chiefly with the aristocracy.

In 1809, when twenty-one years of age, he was returned to Parliament for Cashel, an Irish pocket borough. His father, an unflinching Tory, was then member for Tamworth, his home district. The son devoted himself earnestly to parliamentary business, until he became familiar with the whole range of public questions. His first speech in 1810 was in seconding the address in reply to the king's speech. In 1811 he was made Under Secretary of State for the Colonies, and in the next year Secretary for Ireland. As such it was his lot to maintain by severe repressive measures English and Protestant ascendancy over a discontented country almost ripe for rebellion. His steadfast opposition to Catholic emancipation won for him the nickname "Orange Peel." His endeavors were directed to promoting secular education and trade in Ireland, which effected lasting service to the country. He also instituted the regular Irish constabulary, who thus acquired their famous nickname "Peelers." The young statesman was uniformly courteous to his Irish and English opponents. But his self-restraint and mild manners did not save him from violent attacks by Daniel O'Connell, until at last he was provoked to challenge the redoubtable Irish leader. Peel went to France to fight the duel, but O'Connell was arrested in London and the affair ended in a farce.

In 1817 Peel obtained the distinction of being elected to represent the University of Oxford. In the next year he resigned the Irish secretaryship. Though out of office, he supported the main measures of Canning's administration, yet without agreeing in all respects with that statesman. When invited by Lord Liverpool to succeed Canning in the cabinet, Peel declined. On the death of Horner he was made chairman of the Bullion Committee, which investigated the entire subject of currency. Though he had previously followed his father in supporting Pitt's financial policy, and had denied that there was any depreciation in paper currency, he now entered upon examination of the subject without bias. After studying the question thoroughly, he accepted the doctrines of the political economists. He then presented resolutions in

favor of returning to cash payments, and supported them in his speech of May 24, 1819. The act was passed and Peel was frequently called upon to defend it.

In 1822 Peel became Home Secretary in Lord Liverpool's cabinet, and again had to struggle with the increasing discontent in Ireland and the rising cause of Catholic emancipation. More satisfactory were his services in the reform of criminal law, for which Romilly and Mackintosh had prepared the way. When Canning again became premier, Peel and the Duke of Wellington refused to serve under him. Canning, though a Tory, was inclined to make concessions to the Whigs, which the stricter Tories would not countenance. Yet in spite of assertions to the contrary, Canning and Peel remained friends in private life. When Canning died in 1828, the Duke of Wellington formed a ministry in which Peel was Home Secretary and leader in the House of Commons. He now introduced into London the improved system of police which he had already established in Ireland. Various administrative reforms were also made and the public burdens lightened. But the urgent demand for Catholic emancipation had to be met. O'Connell, who was legally ineligible, was returned to Parliament by the county of Clare. Peel felt that to preserve the peace of Ireland, emancipation must be granted, and pressed it on Wellington, who consented. They two were able to obtain the consent of the king, and in March, 1829, Peel made a notable speech in support of the measure to which he had heretofore been openly opposed. He resigned his seat as member for Oxford, and was defeated when renominated, but was returned for the close borough of Westbury. But though the Tory government had thus granted Catholic emancipation, it was opposed to Parliament reform, and was soon driven from power in 1830.

Peel still retained the favor of the Tories by his obstinate resistance to the Reform Bill. The general election of 1832 after the bill was passed reduced his party to a small minority. But the leader's acceptance of the people's decree and his careful management of the new questions in a few years rendered the Conservatives, as Peel's followers were called, as strong in the reformed Parliament as the Tories had been in

the old Parliament. In 1834, when Sir Robert Peel was in Rome, he was summoned by the Duke of Wellington to become prime minister in the cabinet which was hastily formed on the dismissal of Lord Melbourne. But the new ministry, though it introduced many practical reforms, could not secure sufficient support in the House of Commons, and therefore retired in the next year. It was not until 1841 that the wise and cautious leadership of Peel attained its desired end. The Whigs were then compelled to appeal to the country, and in the next Parliament the Conservatives had a majority of 91. Peel was First Lord of the Treasury and had both Parliament and the country in his favor. But there was a great deficit in the revenues which increase of taxes and customs duties had failed to remove. The people, suffering from want, were discontented. To supply the treasury Peel imposed a tax on all incomes over a certain amount, removed prohibitory duties, and lowered other duties. In a few years, instead of a deficit, there was a surplus which rose to £5,000,000 in 1845. Another of Peel's successful innovations was the Bank Charter Act, which still regulates the currency of England. Much was done for the relief of Ireland. The principle of toleration was carried out, and the last remnants of the oppressive laws were removed. Large grants were made for education both in England and Ireland. But great as were the reforms affected in various directions, the continued distress of the laboring classes demanded a more direct and effective remedy. Bread was dear and the people were starving. But the landowners and farmers wished by high duties to exclude foreign wheat and thus keep up the price of their own produce. Peel first tried a compromise. He imposed a sliding scale of duties, which shut out foreign grain in seasons of low prices and allowed it to enter when prices were high. But Cobden and Bright for years urged the repeal of all duties. The Anti-Corn-Law League agitated the country on the subject. Now the Irish famine added its weight to the many causes which drove the reluctant party leaders to adopt the views of the League. Sir Robert Peel became convinced that the welfare of the county demanded the absolute repeal of the Corn Laws. There was still some difficulty in winning over the cabinet.

Some members resigned, and even Sir Robert Peel himself felt compelled to do so. But Lord John Russell failed to form a ministry and Peel came back. Then on January 27, 1846, he presented in a masterly way the repeal to the House of Commons. In the violent debate which ensued Disraeli became conspicuous for his virulent invective towards Peel. The bill was passed. But immediately afterwards the offended faction of Tories united with the Whigs and defeated the ministry on the Irish Coercion Bill. Peel resigned. He had "lost a party, but won a nation." He assisted the Whig ministry which succeeded him in carrying forward the reforms he had begun. His last speech in June, 1850, was in opposition to Lord Palmerston's policy of interference in foreign affairs. A few days later he was thrown from his horse. For three days he lingered in great suffering, and on July 2, 1850, he died. He was buried, at his own request, in Drayton Church.

Sir Robert Peel, trained as the strictest of Tories, was driven by the irresistible force of events to inaugurate reforms which have changed the character of England. He was slow to appreciate the necessity of these reforms; but when convinced, he did not hesitate to use all his power and influence to bring them to pass. He won in a remarkable degree the personal favor of Queen Victoria. At his death she wrote, "We have lost our truest friend and trustiest counsellor, the throne its most valiant defender, the country its most open-minded and greatest statesman." The Duke of Wellington also paid him a noble tribute, saying in the House of Lords, "I never knew a man in whose truth and justice I had a more lively confidence, or in whom I saw a more invariable desire to promote the public service." Peel was not naturally an orator, but by thorough training he had acquired capacity for the labored artificial style of a past generation. He could state his case clearly and forcibly, but he was seldom willing to dismiss it until he had discussed it at great length. He avoided the statement of general principles, and sought rather to strengthen his case by a multitude of details.

Repeal of the English Corn Laws.

Almost every statesman, up to 1840, had considered, as a matter of course, that home-grown corn [wheat] was to be protected by a duty on foreign corn. They might differ as to the manner in which that duty should be imposed, as to what should be its amount, but no one doubted that there should be a duty sufficient to procure a remunerative price to the English grower. Mr. Charles Pelham Villiers has the credit of first bringing this subject before the serious attention of politicians. Ere long the Corn Law League was formed, and produced, no doubt, a great effect on the public mind; but this was in consequence of the fact that when the Corn Law League commenced its labors, people's thoughts had been subjected to an influence different from that which had formerly governed them.

Previous to the Reform Bill and the Municipality Bills everybody in England looked up: the ambitious young man looked up to the great nobleman for a seat in Parliament; the ambitious townsman to the chief men of his borough for a place in the corporation. Subsequently to these measures, men desirous to elevate their position looked down. The aristocratic tendency of other days had thus become almost suddenly a democratic one. This democratic tendency, which has gone on increasing, had made itself already visible at the period when the Corn Law agitation began. It had been natural until then to consider this subject in relation to the interests of the upper classes; it was now becoming natural to consider it in relation to the interests of the lower classes. The question presented itself in a perfectly different point of view, and politicians found, somewhat to their surprise, that all former arguments had lost their force. It was this change in the spirit of the times which had occasioned within such a very few years a total change in the manner of looking at matters affected by the Legislature. We must, whether we wish to do so or not, breathe the atmosphere that is around us. Directly it was shown them that low wages did not necessarily follow a low price of corn, and that the laborer did not earn more because his living was dearer, the only argument that was still listened to against foreign competition disappeared. Statesman after statesman felt himself gliding into the conviction that all attempts to maintain the existing state of things, because it was thought favorable to the country gentry, were impracticable.

Lord John Russell and other leading members of the Whig

party, who had been supporters of a Corn Law, underwent, year by year, a modification in their former opinions, and were arriving in 1845 at the determination of abandoning them. Sir Robert Peel had been undergoing precisely the same influences, and was arriving precisely at the same conclusions. The country gentlemen amongst the Whigs had quite as much cause to reproach their leader for an alteration in his views as the country gentlemen of the Tories had a right to reproach theirs. But neither the one statesman nor the other had as yet gone so far as to make common cause with Mr. Villiers and Mr. Cobden. An important and alarming incident hastened the decision of both. That incident was the failure of the potato crop. Unless some measure was taken for bringing food from foreign countries into England, and especially into Ireland, there was legitimate cause for apprehending a famine. An apprehension of this kind involves no ordinary responsibility. Lord John Russell and Sir Robert Peel felt this almost at the same moment. But whilst the responsibility of the one was far greater than that of the other, his course was far more embarrassed. Lord John did not rely chiefly on those persons who fancied that their income depended on upholding the value of home produce. Sir Robert Peel did. The first might gain office by declaring that the moment was come for putting Protection altogether on one side; the other could only lose it.

Such a consideration might in many cases fairly weigh with a public man. A change of administration, a dislocation of parties may affect a variety of questions as well as the one which at the moment may be most prominent. But when the matter which presents itself before you is the death by starvation of hundreds or thousands of your fellow-creatures, and you think, whether rightly or wrongly, that your decision can save or condemn so many existences, is there any one who could counsel you for any reason whatever to sanction wholesale murder by suppressing your convictions? There were people who did not think famine imminent. To them, of course, the question presented itself in a different point of view. But Sir Robert Peel seems to have been finally convinced that nothing short of a suspension of the Corn Laws, and the proposal of measures tending to their ultimate abolition, would meet the urgency of the case. He had already lost his confidence in the policy of protecting corn under ordinary circumstances; and now came circumstances which, even if his general opinions had been the same as formerly, would have created an especial reason for putting them on one side.

What was he to do? Some of his colleagues dissented altogether from his views. They did not see the crisis he foresaw so clearly as he did, and therefore were not for meeting it by a temporary suspension of a permanent duty. They did not recognize the necessity for eventually repealing that duty, and therefore were not for proposing measures that would lead to its ultimate abolition. The Premier might have attempted the policy he had in view with the remainder of the ministry, but he wisely resolved on not making such an attempt; and tendering his resignation to her Majesty, and indicating the cause, he stated his readiness to support Lord John Russell, if he were willing and able to form a Cabinet that would undertake to carry out the views which he believed Lord John and himself entertained in common. The Whig leader failed in executing the commission with which, after this communication, the Queen intrusted him; and Lord Stanley, now at the head of the Protectionist party, considering it was not in his power to form a government, Sir Robert Peel had as a matter of duty and necessity to resume his post.

It appears to me that the fact that he had resigned office on changing his policy, and that he did not return to it until every other ministerial combination had failed, rendered his course on this occasion more clear than on the Catholic question. To accuse him under such circumstances of changing his views in order to retain his office is as absurd as unjust. He is not even subject to the charge of retaining power after changing the opinions that he entertained on receiving it. His conduct appears to me to have been dictated by the purest patriotism, and the most complete sacrifice of personal ambition to public motives. Nor was his ability ever more conspicuous than during the ordeal he had now to undergo.

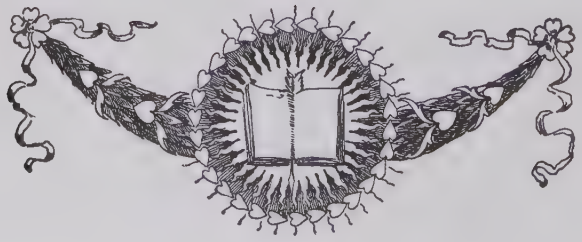
It is not, however, my intention to follow him through the parliamentary contest in which he was soon engaged, and out of which he came triumphant, though not without, for the second time in his life, having been submitted to the severest obloquy, and having exposed his friends, which must have been his most painful trial, to accusations as bitter as those which he had himself to support.

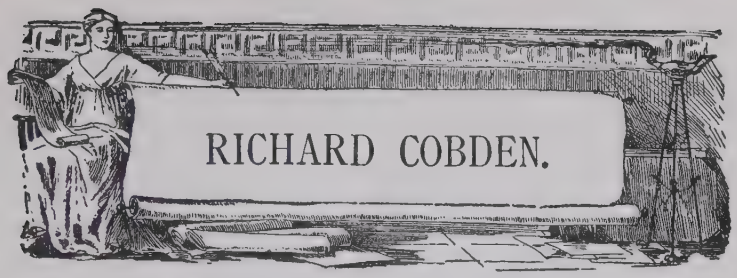
The event which he must have anticipated was now at hand. We know that according to Mahommedan superstition a man walks through life with his good and his bad angel by his side. Sir Robert Peel had at this moment his good and his bad angel accompanying his political fortunes with equal pace. "During the pro-

gress of the Corn Law Bill," he says in his Memoirs, "through the two Houses of Parliament, another Bill, entitled a Bill for the Protection of Life in Ireland, which at an early period of the Session had received the assent of the House of Lords, was brought under discussion in the House of Commons, and encountered every species of opposition." . . . . . .

On the 21st of January, 1846, the two bills—the Corn Law Repeal Bill and the Bill for Protection of Life in Ireland—were in such a position in the two Houses respectively, that there appeared every reason to calculate on the double event—the passing of the first bill unmutilated by the House of Lords, and the rejection of the second by the House of Commons. These two bills were indeed Peel's guardian and destroying angels. The one crowned him with imperishable fame—the other ejected him for the last time from power.

On the 19th of May, 1846, the Corn Law Repeal Bill was carried by a majority of 98. On the 25th of June, by a concerted union between the Protectionist and Whig parties, the Irish Life Protection Bill was rejected by a majority of 75, and the Premier retired, the shouts of congratulation at his victory mingling with the condolence at his defeat. One farther triumph, however, yet remained to him, that of supporting the Whig Government, when, but a short time afterwards, it deemed itself obliged to bring forward a bill almost similar to the one which, when proposed by an opposite party, it had denounced. The most triumphant portion of Sir Robert Peel's political career was indeed that which followed his exclusion from official life. I know of no statesman who ever occupied so proud a position as that in which a greater commoner than even the first William Pitt stood from 1846 to July, 1850, when an unhappy accident filled with patriotic sorrow every heart in England. Above all parties, himself a party, he had trained his own mind into a disinterested sympathy with the intelligence of his country.—HENRY BULWER, LORD DALLING.





RICHARD COBDEN.

FREE TRADE has been propagated through the world by the labors of Richard Cobden and the agencies which he set in motion. In the face of seemingly insurmountable obstacles, government and society being arrayed against him, this unpretending commoner pressed steadily onward, until, by sheer force of argument, he drew his opponents to his views and made them his apostles.

Richard Cobden was born on a farm near Midhurst, Sussex, England, on the 3d of June, 1804. His ancestors had long been residents of that neighborhood, engaged in farming or in domestic manufactures. His father, who had not prospered in farming, died while Richard was a child. After a moderate education, Richard, at the age of fifteen, went to London to serve in his uncle's warehouse. Here he continued his studies, though his uncle warned him they would interfere with his success in business. At twenty he became a traveling salesman, and was noted for his energy and fondness for conversing on political economy. In 1830, with two young friends, he took charge of calico-printing works near Clitheroe, and soon opened stores at Manchester and London. Cobden was not content to be a merchant or a manufacturer. He addressed the public through the press. After writing some articles for newspapers, he published a pamphlet, "England, Ireland and America. By a Manchester Manufacturer." Its discussion of political and social questions showed marked originality. It advocated peace, non-intervention, retrenchment, and free trade as the proper policy for every government. It was not until after the publication of this pamphlet that the author visited the United States, where he spent three months, gathering information about the condition and

prospects of the country. In the next year he published a work on "Russia," in which he combated the foreign policy of England, and its dread of Russia. Afterwards he visited Spain, Turkey, and Egypt.

On his return to Manchester in 1837, Cobden was active in local affairs, helping to found the Manchester Athenæum, infusing life into the Chamber of Commerce, and securing the incorporation of the city. His interest in the founding of schools for primary education led him to visit adjacent towns. At Rochdale he encountered John Bright, who afterwards joined him in the free trade agitation. In 1837 he was a candidate for Parliament from Stockport, but was defeated.

In consequence of the wretched condition of the manufacturing operatives, an Anti-Corn Law Association was formed at Manchester in 1838. On Cobden's suggestion, its name was changed to the Anti-Corn Law League, and the scope of its operations extended over the country. He was soon recognized as the presiding genius and animating soul of this league. For seven years he devoted himself to instructing his countrymen in the principles of the new school of political economy. Public meetings were held in cities and towns, debates were conducted with Chartists and Conservatives, and the council deliberated on the plan of campaign. In 1841 Cobden was elected to Parliament from Stockport. His first speech was met with jeers and interruptions, but he persisted in presenting his argument against the Corn Laws in a plain, business-like manner, utterly different from the artificial style of oratory which had long prevailed in Parliament. Henceforth his thorough mastery of his subject and his English pluck made him a power in the House. On commercial and economical questions he was a ready debater. Sir Robert Peel was the leader of the House, and in February, 1843, Cobden, after describing the distress and misery of the common people, declared that for it he held the head of the government responsible. Peel's secretary had recently been killed by a lunatic, and Peel in his reply to Cobden spoke of his remarks as an incitement to personal violence. Cobden disclaimed any such intention, and insisted that he meant official responsibility, but the Conservatives drowned his words with

their clamor. But the strenuous efforts of Cobden and Bright were at last crowned with success. Peel himself was overcome by the difficulty of providing for the Irish famine, as well as by the logical arguments of the Manchester men, and declared his purpose of removing all duties on imported food. Free Trade, thus inaugurated in 1846, was further extended by Peel's successors, and has been the prevailing policy of Great Britain ever since.

For the repeal of the Corn Laws and the establishment of Free Trade Cobden had sacrificed his private business, his comfort and even his health. The people who had been benefited by his exertions now rallied to his relief, and presented him with the magnificent sum of £80,000. Lord John Russell invited him to a place in the cabinet. But he preferred to serve the people without office. He went abroad, and was soon busy as a missionary of Free Trade on the Continent of Europe. He traveled as far as Russia, visiting the rulers and statesmen, as well as addressing the people. Meantime he was elected to Parliament from the West Riding of Yorkshire. The battle of Free Trade having been won, Cobden took up the advocacy of peace. His abhorrence of war was intense. In 1849 he presented a proposal for international arbitration, and he followed it up with another for the reduction of armaments. He was also active in the Peace Congresses held in Brussels, Paris, London, and other cities. When the first World's Fair was held in the Crystal Palace at London in 1851, it was accepted as the inauguration of a new era of universal peace.

Louis Napoleon's *coup d'état* in December, 1851, was a rude shock to those who had hailed the millennium. The English people were thrown into a wild panic, fearing that the new Emperor was about to invade Britain forthwith. Cobden openly protested against the public alarm, not only by speeches in Parliament, but by a pamphlet, "1793 and 1853." In spite of his recent popularity he became the best abused man in England. But soon the French Emperor became the ally of Great Britain, and popular hatred was transferred to Czar Nicholas of Russia. Against this new craze Cobden and Bright exerted themselves, but could not

prevent the Crimean War. He was, however, able in 1857 to procure the Parliamentary condemnation of Lord Palmerston for the destruction of the Chinese forts and ships on account of an alleged outrage on a British vessel. But though Palmerston was driven from power, Cobden, in the following election, was defeated at Huddersfield, and a war candidate was returned.

For two years Cobden was out of Parliament and spent the time in travel on the Continent and in the United States. In 1859 he was elected to Parliament for Rochdale, and was invited by Palmerston to be President of the Board of Trade; but though some friends advised him to accept the place, he was unwilling to join a ministry from whose policy he differed so widely on many questions. Without official authority he visited the French Emperor, and prepared the way for a new commercial treaty with France. In spite of many difficulties this was accomplished in November, 1860. Various marks of honor for this diplomatic triumph were then offered to the zealous public servant, but were absolutely declined. The treaty remained in force until 1872. On the outbreak of the Civil War in America, Cobden showed his sympathy with the Union, and vigorously opposed all schemes for aiding in any way the Southern Confederacy. But his health was infirm from bronchial irritation, which was aggravated by foggy weather. He died on April 2, 1865, in London. Honors were paid to his memory by all parties, who united in testifying to his unselfish devotion to the public good.

Richard Cobden, though decorated by no title, and holding no official position, left the impress of his character not merely on England, but on the world. He led the way in the crusade for Free Trade, for international arbitration, for the disarmament of nations, for universal peace. Whatever has been accomplished in behalf of these objects can be traced directly to him. He was also an advocate of extension of the suffrage in England and the vote by ballot. His writings and speeches have been collected and published.

Free Trade and its Apostle.

In the year 1838 the town of Bolton-Le-Moors, in Lancashire, was the victim of a terrible commercial crisis. Thirty out of the

fifty manufacturing establishments which the town contained were closed; nearly a fourth of all the houses of business were closed and actually deserted, and more than five thousand workmen were without homes or means of subsistence. All the intelligence and energy of Lancashire was roused. One obvious guarantee against starvation was cheap bread, and cheap bread meant of course the abolition of the Corn Laws, for these laws were constructed on the principle that it was necessary to keep bread dear. A meeting was held in Manchester to consider measures necessary to be adopted for bringing about the complete repeal of these laws. The Manchester Chamber of Commerce adopted a petition to Parliament against the Corn Laws. The Anti-Corn Law agitation had been fairly launched.

From that time it grew, and grew in importance and strength. Meetings were held in various towns of England and Scotland. Associations were formed everywhere to co-operate with the movement, which had its headquarters in Manchester. In Newall's Buildings, Market street, Manchester, the work of the League was really done for years. The leaders of the movement gave up their time day by day to its service. The League had to encounter a great deal of rather fierce opposition from the Chartists, who loudly proclaimed that the whole movement was only meant to entrap them once more into an alliance with the middle classes and the employers, as in the case of the Reform Bill, in order that when they had been made the cat's paw again, they might again be thrown contemptuously aside. On the other hand, the League had from the first the cordial co-operation of Daniel O'Connell, who became one of their principal orators when they held meetings in the metropolis. They issued pamphlets by hundreds of thousands and sent lecturers all over the country explaining the principle of Free Trade. A gigantic propaganda of Free Trade opinions was called into existence. Money was raised by the holding of bazaars in Manchester and in London, and by calling for subscriptions. A bazaar in Manchester brought in ten thousand pounds; one in London raised rather more than double that sum, not including the subscriptions that were contributed. A Free Trade hall was built in Manchester. This building had an interesting history full of good omen for the cause. The ground on which the hall was erected was the property of Mr. Cobden, and was placed by him at the disposal of the League. That ground was the scene of what was known in Manchester as the Massacre of Peterloo. On August 16, 1819, a meeting of Man-

chester reformers was held on that spot, which was dispersed by an attack of soldiers and militia, with the loss of many lives. The memory of that day rankled in the breasts of the Manchester Liberals for long after, and perhaps no better means could be found for purifying the ground from the stain and the shame of such bloodshed than its dedication by the modern apostle of peace and Free Trade as a site whereon to build a hall sacred to the promulgation of his favorite doctrines.

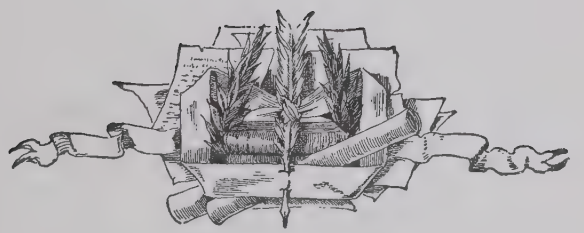
The times were peculiarly favorable to the new sort of propaganda which came into being with the Anti-Corn Law League. A few years before such an agitation would hardly have found the means of making its influence felt all over the country. The very reduction of the cost of postage alone must have facilitated its labors to an extent beyond calculation. The inundation of the country with pamphlets, tracts and reports of speeches would have been scarcely possible under the old system, and would in any case have swallowed up a far larger amount of money than even the League with its ample resources would have been able to supply. In all parts of the country railways were being opened, and these enabled the lecturers of the League to hasten from town to town and to keep the cause always alive in the popular mind. All these advantages and many others might, however, have proved of little avail if the League had not from the first been in the hands of men who seemed as if they came by special appointment to do its work. Great as the work was which the league did, it will be remembered in England almost as much because of the men who won the success as on account of the success itself.

The real leader of the movement was Mr. Richard Cobden. Mr. Cobden was a man belonging to the yeoman class. He had received but a moderate education. His father dying while the great Free Trader was still young, Richard Cobden was taken in charge by an uncle, who had a wholesale warehouse in the city of London, and who gave him employment there. Cobden afterwards became a partner in a Manchester printed cotton factory; and he traveled occasionally on the commercial business of this establishment. He had a great liking for travel; but not by any means as the ordinary tourist travels; the interest of Cobden was not in scenery, or in art, or in ruins, but in men. He studied the condition of countries with a view to the manner in which it affected the men and women of the present, and through them was likely to affect the future. On everything that he saw he turned a quick and intelligent eye; and he saw for himself and thought for

himself. Wherever he went he wanted to learn something. He had in abundance that peculiar faculty which some great men of widely different stamp from him and from each other have possessed; of which Goethe frankly boasted, and which Mirabeau had more largely than he was always willing to acknowledge; the faculty which exacts from every one with whom its owner comes into contact some contribution to his stock of information and to his advantage. Cobden could learn something from everybody. It is doubtful whether he ever came even into momentary acquaintance with any one whom he did not compel to yield him something in the way of information. He traveled very widely for a time when traveling was more difficult work than it is at present. He made himself familiar with most of the countries of Europe, with many parts of the East, and what was then a rare accomplishment, with the United States and Canada. He did not make the familiar grand tour and then dismiss the places he had seen from his active mind. He studied them and visited many of them again to compare early with later impressions. This was in itself an education of the highest value for the career he proposed to pursue. When he was about thirty years of age he began to acquire a certain reputation as the author of pamphlets directed against some of the pet doctrines of old-fashioned statesmanship; the balance of power in Europe; the necessity of maintaining a State Church in Ireland; the importance of allowing no European quarrel to go on without England's intervention; and similar dogmas. Mr. Cobden's opinions then were very much as they continued to the day of his death. He seemed to have come to the maturity of his convictions all at once, and to have passed through no further change either of growth or of decay. But whatever might be said then or now of the doctrines he maintained, there could be only one opinion as to the skill and force which upheld them with pen as well as tongue. The tongue, however, was his best weapon. If oratory were a business and not an art—that is, if its test were its success rather than its form—then it might be contended reasonably enough that Mr. Cobden was one of the greatest orators that England has ever known. Nothing could exceed the persuasiveness of his style. His manner was simple, sweet, and earnest. It was persuasive, but it had not the sort of persuasiveness which is merely a better kind of plausibility. It persuaded by convincing. It was transparently sincere. The light of its convictions shone all through it. It aimed at the reason and the judgment of the

listener, and seemed to be convincing him to his own interest against his prejudices. Cobden's style was almost exclusively conversational, but he had a clear, well-toned voice, with a quiet unassuming power in it which enabled him to make his words heard distinctly and without effort all through the great meetings he had often to address. His speeches were full of variety. He illustrated every argument by something drawn from his personal observation or from reading, and his illustrations were always striking, appropriate, and interesting. He had a large amount of bright and winning humor, and he spoke the simplest and purest English. He never used an unnecessary sentence or failed for a single moment to make his meaning clear. Many strong opponents of Mr. Cobden's opinions confessed even during his lifetime that they sometimes found with dismay their most cherished convictions crumbling away beneath his flow of easy argument. In the stormy times of national passion, Mr. Cobden was less powerful. When the question was one to be settled by the rules that govern man's substantial interests, or even by the standing rules, if such an expression may be allowed, of morality, then Cobden was unequalled. So long as the controversy could be settled after this fashion—"I will show you that in such a course you are acting injuriously to your own interests;" or, "You are doing what a fair and just man ought not to do"—so long as argument of that kind could sway the conduct of men, then there was no one who could convince as Cobden could. But when the hour and mood of passion came, and a man or a nation said, "I do not care any longer whether this is for my interest or not—I do not care whether you call it right or wrong—this way my instincts drive me, and this way I am going"—then Mr. Cobden's teaching, the very perfection as it was of common sense and fair play, was out of season. It could not answer feeling with feeling. It was not able to "overcrow," in the word of Shakespeare and Spenser, one emotion by another. The defect of Mr. Cobden's style of mind and temper is fitly illustrated in the deficiency of his method of argument. His sort of education, his modes of observation, his way of turning travel to account, all went together to make him the man he was. The apostle of common sense and fair dealing, he had no sympathy with the passions of men; he did not understand them; they passed for nothing in his calculations. His judgment of men and of nations was based far too much on his knowledge of his own motives and character. He knew that in any given case he could always trust himself to act the part of

a just and prudent man; and he assumed that all the world could be governed by the rules of prudence and of equity. History had little interest for him, except as it testified to man's advancement and steady progress, and furnished arguments to show that men prospered by liberty, peace, and just dealings with their neighbors. He cared little or nothing for mere sentiments. Even where these had their root in some human tendency that was noble in itself, he did not reverence them if they seemed to stand in the way of men's acting peacefully and prudently. He did not see why the mere idea of nationality, for example, should induce people to disturb themselves by insurrections and wars, so long as they were tolerably well governed and allowed to exist in peace and to make an honest living. Thus he never represented more than half the English character. He was always out of sympathy with his countrymen on some great political question.—JUSTIN MCCARTHY.



JOHN BRIGHT.

CONSPICUOUS as he was for years in English public affairs, it was John Bright's fortune to be rather the voice than the hand in the causes which he helped to victory. In the early part of his career he was associated with Cobden, in the later with Gladstone; yet throughout the Quaker orator preserved a marked individuality.

John Bright's ancestors belonged to a humble Quaker family of Wiltshire. His father, Jacob Bright, removed to Rochdale, Lancashire, engaged in cotton-spinning, and laid the foundation of a prosperous business. John was Jacob's second son, and was born November 16, 1811. At the age of fifteen he was employed in his father's mill. In the debates of the Rochdale Literary and Philosophical Society he made his first speeches. His active opposition to the parish rates, imposed by the vestry, proved successful. In 1841, just after the death of his first wife, with whom he had enjoyed scarcely two years of wedded happiness, he was summoned by his fellow-manufacturer, Richard Cobden, to devote himself to the agitation for the repeal of the Corn Laws. Cobden was already in the House of Commons, but felt the need of support by a public demand for his chosen cause. Bright turned over to his brothers the affairs of their firm and took up the crusade for cheap bread. Within eighteen months he made addresses in the principal cities and towns of England and Scotland. Full reports of the speeches appeared in the London newspapers and thus reached a still larger public.

In July, 1843, Bright was elected to Parliament from Durham. His oratory proved as effective in the House as on the platform. The city of Manchester then chose him as one of its representatives. Cobden and his associates were called the Manchester School and acted as a third party. They kept up their agitation, and bad harvests helped their arguments. In 1845 Sir Robert Peel was won over, and in the next session of Parliament the Repeal was passed. Its opponents, however, were able to drive Peel from power. To annoy the manufacturers they also passed a bill reducing the hours of labor from twelve to ten. Staunch upholders of Church and State were afraid that the innovators might overthrow all existing institutions. But Bright and Cobden limited their efforts to practicable reforms. When all England went mad with dread of Russia in 1854, these peace-lovers protested against the national frenzy. Bright's health broke down, and while he was recruiting it on the Continent, an election came on. Manchester, infected with the war-fever, denied Bright a re-election, but Birmingham soon demanded his services.

Bright was a Radical Liberal and was charged by his opponents with endeavoring to Americanize the British Constitution. He proposed to introduce vote by ballot, a wider extension of suffrage, and such reapportionment of districts as should make the House of Commons a fair index of the nation. When the aristocratic and commercial leaders of England proclaimed the overthrow of the American Union in 1861, Bright had a clearer view of its stability. While grieved at the entrance of war into the land whose institutions fitted it to be the abode of peace, he declared himself in favor of the North. When the factories of Lancashire were closed and the workingmen driven to distress for want of cotton, Bright exerted himself to allay the irritation and check the impulse of the British government to recognize the Southern Confederacy. At the close of the war, Bright was called to mourn the loss of his magnanimous associate Cobden. But he did not falter in his work. The pressing question of Reform was in regard to the extension of the suffrage. Disraeli finding himself accidentally in power in 1867, called on his Tory supporters to "take a leap in the dark" and grant the people's

demand. Bright was little disposed to follow the leader, whom he had characterized as "the mystery man." The so-called Conservative administration was soon wrecked.

Gladstone being called to form a cabinet in 1868 offered to Bright the presidency of the Board of Trade. When the Quaker accepted, he was excused from the ceremony of kneeling to the Queen. He was active in carrying through the House the disestablishment of the Irish Church. Ill-health prevented him from assisting in the passage of the Irish Land Bill, though he had suggested some features of that measure. In December, 1870, he resigned and retired from public life for five years. When Bright returned again the Conservative party was in power and was leading England to intermeddle in the affairs of every little country on the globe. Bright counselled peace and moderation and directed attention to home affairs. At last Gladstone resumed the leadership of his party and won a memorable triumph by his Mid-Lothian campaign. A tidal wave of Liberalism swept over the country. In the new Cabinet Bright was made Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster. The ministry endeavored to extricate England from its warlike complications in Afghanistan and the Zulu country. The condition of affairs in Egypt led Gladstone to despatch an expedition to secure British interests. Bright not being able conscientiously to approve this movement, resigned his office in 1882, and became an independent. He uniformly discountenanced active interference in the affairs of other nations, great or small.

In 1885 it was evident that Bright was at variance with his old colleagues on other points. He declared against the expansion of the empire, and pronounced the project of imperial federation absurd. When Gladstone introduced his measure for Home Rule in Ireland and another for the purchase of land there, Bright declared his dissent from them; but his constitution had always been delicate, requiring him several times to repair to more genial climate in Southern Europe. Now his strength was fast failing. When the end came, on March 28, 1889, his seven children were at his bedside. Gladstone in the House of Commons pronounced an appropriate eulogy, and members of all shades of opinion testified their

respect for the steadfast champion of the welfare of the people.

JOHN BRIGHT ON THE AMERICAN CIVIL WAR.

(From his Speech at Rochdale, August 1, 1861.)

No one will expect that I should stand forward as the advocate of war, or as the defender of that great sum of all crimes which is involved in war. But when we are discussing a question of this nature it is only fair that we should discuss it upon principles which are acknowledged not only in the country where the strife is being carried on, but are universally acknowledged in this country. When I discussed the Russian war, seven or eight years ago, I always disavowed it on principles which were avowed by the government and people of England, and I took my facts from the blue-books presented to Parliament. I take the liberty, then, of doing that in this case; and I say that, looking at the principles avowed in England, and at its policy, there is no man who is not absolutely a non-resistant in every sense, who can fairly challenge the conduct of the American government in this war. It would be a curious thing to find that the party in this country which on every public question is in favor of war at any cost, when they come to speak of the duty of the government of the United States, is in favor "of peace at any price."

I want to know whether it has ever been admitted by politicians, or statesmen, or people, that a great nation can be broken up at any time by any particular section of any part of that nation. It has been tried occasionally in Ireland, and if it had succeeded history would have said that it was with very good cause. But if anybody tried now to get up a secession or insurrection in Ireland—and it would be infinitely less disturbing to everything than the secession in the United States, because there is a boundary which nobody can dispute—I am quite sure the *Times* would have its "special correspondent," and would describe with all the glee and exultation in the world the manner in which the Irish insurrectionists were cut down and made an end of.

Let any man try in this country to restore the heptarchy, do you think that any portion of the people would think that the thing could be tolerated for a moment? But if you would look at a map of the United States you would see there is no country in the world probably, at this moment, where any plan of separa-

tion between the North and the South, as far as the question of boundary is concerned, is so surrounded with insurmountable difficulties. For example, Maryland is a Slave State; but Maryland, by a large majority, voted for the Union. Kentucky is a Slave State, one of the finest in the Union, and containing fine people; Kentucky has voted for the Union, but has been invaded from the South. Missouri is a Slave State; but Missouri has not seceded, and has been invaded by the South, and there is a secession party in that State. There are parts of Virginia which have formed themselves into a new State, resolved to adhere to the North; and there is no doubt a considerable Northern and Union feeling in the State of Tennessee. I have no doubt there is in every other State. In fact, I am not sure that there is not now within sound of my voice a citizen of the State of Alabama who would tell you that there the question of secession has never been put to the vote; and that there are great numbers of men, reasonable and thoughtful and just men, in that State, who entirely deplore the condition of things there existing.

Then, what would you do with all those States, and with what we may call the loyal portion of the people of those States? Would you allow them to be dragooned into this insurrection, and into the formation or becoming parts of a new State to which they themselves are hostile? And what would you do with the city of Washington? Washington is in a Slave State. Would anybody have advised that President Lincoln and his Cabinet, with all the members of Congress, of the House of Representatives and the Senate from the North, with their wives and children, and everybody else who was not positively in favor of the South, should have set off on their melancholy pilgrimage northwards, leaving that capital hallowed to them by such associations—having its name even from the father of their country—leaving Washington to the South, because Washington is situated in a Slave State?

Again, what do you say to the Mississippi River, as you see it upon the map, the "father of waters," rolling that gigantic stream to the ocean? Do you think that the fifty millions which one day will occupy the banks of that river northward will ever consent that that great stream should roll through a foreign, and it may be a hostile, State? And more, there are four millions of negroes in subjection. For them the American Union is directly responsible. They are not Secessionists; they are now, as they always were, not citizens nor subjects, but legally under the care

and power of the government of the United States. Would you consent that these should be delivered up to the tender mercies of their task-masters, the defenders of slavery as an everlasting institution?

Well, if all had been surrendered without a struggle, what then? What would the writers in this newspaper and other newspapers have said? If a bare rock in your empire that would not keep a goat—a single goat—alive be touched by any foreign power, the whole empire is roused to resistance; and if there be, from accident or passion, the smallest insult to your flag, what do your newspaper writers say upon the subject, and what is said in all your towns and upon all your exchanges? I will tell you what they would have said if the government of the Northern States had taken their insidious and dishonest advice. They would have said the great Republic was a failure, that democracy had murdered patriotism, that history afforded no example of such meanness and of such cowardice; and they would have heaped unmeasured obloquy and contempt upon the people and government who had taken that course.

Well, they tell you, these candid friends of the United States, they tell you that all freedom is gone; that the Habeas Corpus Act, if they ever had one, is known no longer; and that any man may be arrested at the dictum of the President or of the Secretary of State. Well, but in 1848 you recollect, many of you, that there was a small insurrection in Ireland. It was an absurd thing altogether; but what was done then? I saw in one night, in the House of Commons, a bill for the suspension of the Habeas Corpus Act passed through all its stages. What more did I see? I saw a bill brought in by the Whig government of that day, Lord John Russell being the premier, which made speaking against the government and against the crown—which up to that time had been sedition—which proposed to make it felony; and it was only by the greatest exertions of a few of the members that that act, in that particular, was limited to a period of two years. In the same session a bill was brought in called an Alien Bill, which enabled the Home Secretary to take any foreigner whatsoever, not being a naturalized Englishman, and in twenty-four hours to send him out of the country. Although a man might have committed no crime, this might be done to him apparently only on suspicion.

But suppose that an insurgent army had been so near to London that you could see its outposts from every suburb of London,

what then do you think would have been the regard of the government of Great Britain for personal liberty if it interfered with the necessities and, as they might think, the salvation of the state? I recollect, in 1848, when the Habeas Corpus Act was suspended, that a number of persons in Liverpool, men there of position and of wealth, presented a petition to the House of Commons praying—what? That the Habeas Corpus Act should not be suspended? No. They were not content with its suspension in Ireland; but they prayed the House of Commons to extend that suspension to Liverpool. I recollect that at that time—and I am sure my friend Mr. Wilson will bear me out in what I say—the Mayor of Liverpool telegraphed with the Mayor of Manchester, and that messages were sent on to London nearly every hour. The Mayor of Manchester heard from the Mayor of Liverpool that certain Irishmen in Liverpool, conspirators, or fellow-conspirators with those in Ireland, were going to burn the cotton warehouses in Liverpool and the cotton mills of Lancashire. And I read that petition. I took it from the table of the House of Commons and read it, and I handed it over to a statesman of great eminence, who has been but just removed from us—I refer to Sir James Graham—a man not second to any in the House of Commons for his knowledge of affairs and for his great capacity—I handed to him this petition. He read it; and after he had read it, he rose from his seat and laid it upon the table with a gesture of abhorrence and disgust. Now, that was a petition from the town of Liverpool, in which some persons have been making themselves very ridiculous of late by reason of their conduct.

There is one more point. It has been said, "How much better it would be"—not for the United States, but—"for us, that these States should be divided." I recollect meeting a gentleman in Bond Street one day before the session was over. He was a rich man, and one whose voice is very much heard in the House of Commons; but his voice is not heard there when he is on his legs, but when he is cheering other speakers; and he said to me: "After all, this is a sad business about the United States; but still I think it is very much better that they should be split up. In twenty years," or in fifty years, I forget which it was, "they will be so powerful that they will bully all Europe." And a distinguished member of the House of Commons—distinguished there by his eloquence; distinguished more by his many writings—I mean Sir Edward Bulwer Lytton—he did not exactly express a hope, but he ventured on something like a prediction, that the

time would come when there would be, I don't know how many, but as many independent States in America as you can count upon your fingers.

There cannot be a meaner motive than this I am speaking of, in forming a judgment on this question, that it is "better for us"—for whom? the people of England, or the government of England?—that the United States should be severed, and that that continent should be as the continent of Europe is, in many States, and subject to all the contentions and disasters which have accompanied the history of the States of Europe. I should say that, if a man had a great heart within him he would rather look forward to the day when, from that point of land which is habitable nearest to the Pole, to the shores of the great Gulf, the whole of that vast continent might become one great confederation of States—without a great army, and without a great navy—not mixing itself up with the entanglements of European politics, without a custom house inside through the whole length and breadth of its territory, and with freedom everywhere, equality everywhere, law everywhere, peace everywhere; such a confederation would afford at least some hope that man is not forsaken of heaven, and that the future of our race might be better than the past.—JOHN BRIGHT.

LORD MACAULAY.

MACAULAY in the beginning of his career astonished the English-speaking world by the width of his learning, and dazzled it with the brilliance of his style. His earnest oratory and his thorough devotion to the Whig cause seemed to mark him as a future leader of Parliament. Yet while his speeches captivated his audience, he never became a statesman. Partly from circumstances and partly from natural bent, he remained a man of letters and achieved the distinction of being the most popular historian of his time. Cut off before his sixtieth year, he left his greatest work incomplete. Yet his fame has reached the ends of the earth.

Thomas Babington Macaulay was born at Rothley Temple, Leicestershire, England, on the 25th of October, 1800. His father, Zachary Macaulay, was a Liverpool merchant of Scotch descent, who devoted his time and fortune to the anti-slavery cause. At an early age Tom gave proof of love of learning, and the greatest care was taken of his education. From a good private school he passed to Trinity College, Cambridge, where in due time he won a fellowship. The highest honors were there reserved for proficiency in mathematics, for which study Macaulay never cared. Some college prizes fell to him, one for a poem "Pompeii," another for an essay on William III. To *Knight's Quarterly Magazine* he contributed prose and verse of more than average excellence. His first public speech, made at an anti-slavery meeting in

1824, was praised in the *Edinburgh Review*. In this *Review* in August, 1825, appeared his famous article on "Milton," the first of a long series of historical and literary essays which gave him high reputation. The author's mature judgment disapproved of much in this initial essay, but the public demand obliged him to retain it in his published works.

In 1826, Macaulay was called to the bar, but his inclination to literature and politics drew him from that profession. His ability as a converser gave him social success and made him welcome at the Holland House, the favorite resort of Whig statesmen. But commercial disaster fell upon his father. Suddenly the son who had been the petted delight of a bright family circle, was obliged to exert himself to maintain its existence. His fellowship gave him £300 a year; literature might bring as much more; and he was glad to be a commissioner of bankruptcy for a while. In February, 1830, Lord Lansdowne gave him a seat in the House of Commons as member for Calne. His maiden speech was for the removal of Jewish disabilities. In the next year the Reform Bill enlisted his energies. When its great victory was attained in 1832, Macaulay's services were rewarded by making him Secretary of the Board of Control. This led to his study of affairs in India. But though burdened with political and social duties, Macaulay accomplished much literary work. Among his contributions to the *Edinburgh Review* at this period were articles on Lord Chatham, Hampden, Mirabeau, Burleigh, and his famous review of Croker's edition of "Boswell's Life of Johnson." Croker was Macaulay's Tory rival, the crack contributor to the *Quarterly* on English historical and political subjects. Though inferior to Macaulay as a writer, Croker was an able critic and reviewer. Macaulay took keen delight in exposing his mistakes in various details.

When the first Reform Parliament met in 1833, Macaulay represented the city of Leeds, then admitted to that privilege. Among the important matters brought before it was the abolition of slavery in the British colonies. Macaulay had pleasure in voting for the cause in which his father had long labored. He also took part in the movement for an improved govern-

ment in India, where the East India Company was already showing signs of failure. When the Supreme Council for that country was established, Macaulay was honored with a place with a salary of £10,000. It became his duty to infuse liberal ideas in a government, hitherto repressive. A commission was also appointed to revise the jurisprudence of the country, and Macaulay was made its president. The chief result of his labors was the Indian Penal Code. This code, however, was stoutly resisted by the officials concerned. The numerous changes it proposed for simplifying laws and rendering them consistent prevented its immediate adoption. Nevertheless, it was the basis of the system finally adopted and still retained.

When Macaulay returned to England in 1838, he was elected to Parliament from Edinburgh. Soon he was made Secretary of War in Lord Melbourne's ministry, but went out of office in 1841. In the next year he scored a new success with his "Lays of Ancient Rome." Four years later he was made Paymaster-General in Lord John Russell's ministry. But he felt a growing dislike to the harassing work of political life. Though his talent and eloquence were acknowledged, he was not popular, and he disdained to cultivate the arts of the politician. He even withdrew from general society, in which he had shone. He still wrote for the *Edinburgh Review*, but he was devoting much time to the "History of England" which he purposed to write from the death of Charles II. to the nineteenth century. In July, 1847, he was defeated for re-election at Edinburgh. This was owing to his vote in favor of a grant to Maynooth College, a Roman Catholic institution in Ireland. Denouncing the bigotry of his constituents, he retired to private life.

In December, 1848, appeared the first two volumes of his "History of England." Its success was complete beyond expectation. No serious literary work had ever attained at once such an enormous circulation. Nor was this success confined to England or America. Quickly translated into foreign languages, it was widely distributed throughout Europe. The author had attained the distinction of making history more attractive than fiction. In 1852, when his party

returned to power, Macaulay declined a seat in the cabinet, though the city of Edinburgh made amends for its former rejection by returning him to Parliament with a large majority. But the large, fine-looking man was soon stricken with heart disease. His strength steadily declined. Still he labored at his history, and in November, 1855, issued two more volumes, which were received by the public with greater avidity than before. In 1857, the popular author was raised to the peerage with the title of Baron Macaulay of Rothley. Only half a volume more was finished, bringing the history down to the death of William III. Macaulay died on December 28, 1859. He was buried in Westminster Abbey.

Great as was Macaulay's popularity as a historian, he has been severely handled by critics. He was an intense partisan and judged men and measures by the Whig principles of his time. He took great pains in ascertaining facts, and visited the scenes of important events, but having once made up his mind, it was almost impossible to induce him to revise his decision. Against William Penn, whom all other historians united in praising, Macaulay formed a strong prejudice, apparently because Penn retained friendship for the Duke of York, afterwards James II. Out of scurrilous party pamphlets of that time foul charges were raked up against Penn's moral character. But defenders sprang up on all sides to vindicate the Quaker apostle. In regard to other characters treated in his essays or history, the principal criticism is that the views are stated in terms too positive and sweeping, so that the heroes become superhuman, the villains infernal. Beyond this there is no proof of his suppressing or distorting evidence.

In private life, Macaulay was without reproach. He never married, but he was happy in the society of his sisters. For many years he was prominent in the best intellectual society of England, and afterwards lived only for literature. He cared little for science or philosophy, at least in their modern development. He was a firm believer in human progress, though inclined to look at it from the liberal and material side rather than from a lofty spiritual point of view. Satisfied with himself and the world around him, he permitted no doubts to

disturb his serenity. Yet he had a high sense of honor, and on more than one occasion offered to resign his place rather than abandon what he believed to be right. His "Life," as prepared by his nephew, Sir G. O. Trevelyan, is one of the most pleasing of modern biographies. The letters of his sisters and other revelations of his private life increase admiration of his noble character.

The University of Glasgow.

(From Lord Macaulay's Speech on his Installation as Lord Rector of the University, March 21, 1849.)

It may be doubted whether, since the Christian era, there has been any point of time more important to the highest interests of mankind than that at which the existence of the University of Glasgow commenced. It was the moment of a great destruction and of a great creation. Your society was instituted just before the Empire of the East perished—that strange empire which, dragging on a languid life through the great age of darkness, connected together the two great ages of light; that empire which, adding nothing to our stores of knowledge, and producing not one man great in letters, in science, or in art, yet preserved in the midst of barbarism those masterpieces of Attic genius which the highest minds still contemplate, and long will contemplate, with admiring despair; and at that very time, while the fanatical Moslems were plundering the churches and palaces of Constantinople, breaking in pieces Grecian sculpture and giving to the flames piles of Grecian eloquence, a few humble German artisans, who little knew that they were calling into existence a power far mightier than that of the victorious Sultan, were busied in cutting and setting the first types. The University came into existence just in time to see the last trace of the Roman empire disappear, and to see the earliest printed book.

At this conjuncture—a conjuncture of unrivalled interest in the history of letters—a man never to be mentioned without reverence by every lover of letters, held the highest place in Europe. Our just attachment to that Protestant faith to which our country owes so much, must not prevent us from paying the tribute which, on this occasion and in this place, justice and gratitude demand to the founder of the University of Glasgow, the greatest of the revivers of learning, Pope Nicholas the Fifth. He had sprung from the common people; but his abilities and his erudition had

early attracted the notice of the great. He had studied much and traveled far. He had visited Great Britain, which, in wealth and refinement, was to his native Tuscany what the back settlements of America now are to Britain. He had lived with the merchant princes of Florence, those men who first ennobled trade by making trade the ally of philosophy, of eloquence and of taste. It was he who, under the protection of the munificent and discerning Cosmo, arrayed the first public library that modern Europe possessed. From privacy your founder rose to a throne; but on the throne he never forgot the studies which had been his delight in privacy. He was the centre of an illustrious group, composed partly of the last great scholars of Greece, and partly of the first great scholars of Italy, Theodore Gaza and George of Trebizond, Bessarin and Tilelfo, Marsilio Ficino and Poggio Bracciolini. By him was founded the Vatican library, then and long after the most precious and the most extensive collection of books in the world. By him were carefully preserved the most valuable intellectual treasures which had been snatched from the wreck of the Byzantine empire. His agents were to be found everywhere—in the bazaars of the farthest East, in the monasteries of the farthest West—purchasing or copying worm-eaten parchments on which were traced words worthy of immortality. Under his patronage were prepared accurate Latin versions of many precious remains of Greek poets and philosophers. But no department of literature owes so much to him as history. By him were introduced to the knowledge of Western Europe, two great and unrivalled models of historical composition, the work of Herodotus and the work of Thucydides. By him, too, our ancestors were first made acquainted with the graceful and lucid simplicity of Xenophon, and with the manly good sense of Polybius.

It was while he was occupied with cares like these that his attention was called to the intellectual wants of this region—a region now swarming with population, rich with culture, and resounding with the clang of machinery; a region which now sends forth fleets laden with its admirable fabrics to lands of which, in his days, no geographer had ever heard—then a wild, a poor, a half-barbarous tract, lying in the utmost verge of the known world. He gave his sanction to the plan of establishing a University at Glasgow, and bestowed on the new seat of learning all the privileges which belonged to the University of Bologna. I can conceive that a pitying smile passed over his face as he named Bologna and Glasgow together. At Bologna he had long

studied. No spot in the world has been more favored by nature or by art. The surrounding country was a fruitful and sunny country, a country of cornfields and vineyards. In the city the house of Bentivoglio bore rule—a house which vied with the Medici in taste and magnificence—which has left to posterity noble palaces and temples, and which gave a splendid patronage to arts and sciences.

Glasgow he knew to be a poor, a small, a rude town, and as he would have thought not likely ever to be otherwise; for the soil, compared with the rich country at the foot of the Apennines, was barren, and the climate was such that an Italian shuddered at the thought of it. But it is not on the fertility of the soil, it is not on the mildness of the atmosphere that the prosperity of nations chiefly depends. Slavery and superstition can make Campania a land of beggars, and can change the plain of Enna into a desert. Nor is it beyond the power of human intelligence and energy, developed by civil and spiritual freedom, to turn sterile rocks and pestilential marshes into cities and gardens. Enlightened as your founder was, he little knew that he was himself a chief agent in a great revolution—physical and moral, political and religious—in a revolution destined to invert the relative positions of Glasgow and Bologna. We cannot, I think, better employ a few minutes than in reviewing the stages of this great change in human affairs. The review shall be short. Indeed, I cannot do better than pass rapidly from century to century. Look at the world, then, a hundred years after the seal of Nicholas had been affixed to the instrument which called your college into existence. We find Europe—we find Scotland especially in the agonies of that great revolution which we emphatically call the Reformation.

The liberal patronage which Nicholas, and men like Nicholas, had given to learning, and of which the establishment of this seat of learning is not the least remarkable instance, had produced an effect which they had never contemplated. Ignorance was the talisman on which their power depended, and that talisman they had themselves broken. They had called in knowledge as a handmaid to decorate superstition, and their error produced its natural effect. I need not tell you what a part the votaries of classical learning, and especially of Greek learning, the Humanists, as they were then called, bore in the great movement against spiritual tyranny. In the Scotch University I need hardly mention the names of Knox, of Buchanan, of Melville, of Maitland, of

Lethington. They formed, in fact, the vanguard of that movement. Every one of the chief Reformers—I do not at this moment remember a single exception—was a Humanist. Every eminent Humanist in the North of Europe was, according to the measure of his uprightness and courage, a Reformer. In truth, minds daily nourished with the best literature of Greece and Rome, necessarily grew too strong to be trammelled by the cobwebs of the scholastic divinity; and the influence of such minds was now rapidly felt by the whole community; for the invention of printing had brought books within the reach even of yeomen and of artisans.

From the Mediterranean to the Frozen Sea, therefore, the public mind was everywhere in a ferment, and nowhere was the ferment greater than in Scotland. It was in the midst of martyrdoms and proscriptions, in the midst of a war between power and truth, that the first century of the existence of your University closed. Pass another hundred years and we are in the midst of another revolution. The war between Popery and Protestantism had in this island been terminated by the victory of Protestantism. But from that war another war had sprung—the war between Prelacy and Puritanism. The hostile religious sects were allied, intermingled, confounded with hostile political parties. The monarchical element of the constitution was an object of almost exclusive devotion to the prelatist. The popular element of the constitution was especially dear to the Puritan. At length an appeal was made to the sword. Puritanism triumphed; but Puritanism was already divided against itself. Independency and Republicanism were on one side; Presbyterianism and limited monarchy on the other. It was in the very darkest part of that dark time—it was in the midst of battles, sieges and executions—it was when the whole world was still aghast at the awful spectacle of a British king standing before a judgment seat and laying his neck on a block—it was when the mangled remains of the Duke of Hamilton had just been laid in the tomb of his house—it was when the head of the Marquis of Montrose had just been fixed on the Tolbooth of Edinburgh that your University completed her second century!

A hundred years more and we have at length reached the beginning of a happier period. Our civil and religious liberties had, indeed, been bought with a fearful price. But they had been bought. The price had been paid. The last battle had been fought on British ground. The last black scaffold had been set

up on Tower Hill. The evil days were over. A bright and tranquil century—a century of religious toleration, of domestic peace, of temperate freedom, of equal justice—was beginning. That century is now closing. When we compare it with any equally long period in the history of any other great society, we shall find abundant cause for thankfulness to the Giver of all good; nor is there any in the whole kingdom better fitted to excite this feeling than the place where we are now assembled. For in the whole kingdom we shall find no district in which the progress of trade, of manufactures, of wealth and of the arts of life has been more rapid than in Clydesdale. Your University has partaken largely of the prosperity of this city and the surrounding region.

The security, the tranquillity, the liberty which have been propitious to the industry of the merchant and of the manufacturer, have been also propitious to the industry of the scholar. To the last century belong most of the names of which you justly boast. The time would fail me if I attempted to do justice to the memory of all the illustrious men, who, during that period, taught or learned wisdom within these ancient walls—geometricians, anatomists, jurists, philologists, metaphysicians, poets—Simpson and Hunter, Miller and Young, Reid and Stewart, Campbell—whose coffin was lately borne to a grave in that renowned transept which contains the dust of Chaucer, of Spenser and of Dryden; Black, whose discoveries form an era in the history of chemical science; Adam Smith, the greatest of all the masters of political science; James Watt, who perhaps did more than any single man has done since the New Atlantis of Bacon was written, to accomplish the glorious prophecy. — LORD MACAULAY.

DANIEL O'CONNELL.

AMONG his Catholic countrymen O'Connell bears the proud title of the Liberator. Averse to war and anarchy, he effected the most conspicuous peaceful revolution in the history of the world—the removal of the political disabilities of Catholics in the foremost Protestant nation. Ireland had for centuries been treated by England as a conquered, but still hostile, country. Everything was done by law to humiliate, irritate and exasperate the people. Their religion was proscribed, and those professing it were deprived of the opportunity for worship, for education, and even of the right of succession to property. From this state of degradation the genius of one man, by cautious use of legal means and undeniable rights, saved his co-religionists and won their undying gratitude. From this triumph of Catholic emancipation he advanced to the advocacy of Repeal of the Union. But though the same genius was displayed in marshalling his forces, and though marvellous success attended his work in Ireland, it was impossible by pacific measures to accomplish this partial disruption of the Empire. His personal victory when the House of Lords declared his arrest illegal did not avail to the benefit of his cause. Famine came to inflict still sorer misery on his beloved land. Worn out with arduous toil, and prostrated by the failure of his hopes and the sight of new woes which he could not alleviate, the great agitator died while on a pilgrimage to Rome. His countrymen warmly cherished his memory, and his name stands highest on the roll of Irish patriots.

Daniel O'Connell was born on the 6th of August, 1775, near Cahirciveen, in county Kerry, in the southwest of Ireland. His father, Morgan O'Connell, was a Catholic gentleman, and his ancestors had been Celtic chiefs. From them he inherited a firm attachment to his proscribed faith and an unrelenting hostility to his country's oppressors. From a Catholic school recently allowed to be established near Cork, the promising lad passed to France, where he attended the Jesuits' College at St. Omer, and another at Douai. The excesses of the French Revolution made a lasting impression on his mind. Long afterwards he declared "he would accept of no social amelioration at the cost of a single drop of blood." He studied law and was called to the bar in 1798, though still excluded on account of his creed from attaining any promotion. In spite of caste hostility, the eloquent and dexterous Catholic attained eminence in his profession. He was well versed in law, skillful in examining witnesses, and successful in winning causes. But his matchless power was best exhibited in the field of politics.

The penal code which had been devised with rancorous ingenuity to extirpate Catholicism in Ireland had utterly failed of its purpose. The rebellion of 1798 had been relentlessly crushed. The separate Irish Parliament which had existed for eighteen years had been drawn exclusively from the Protestant minority. The legislative union with Great Britain was accomplished by wholesale corruption in 1801. Still the vast mass of the people were loyally and invincibly Catholic. O'Connell, as thoroughly Catholic, formed the bold design of uniting these outcast millions in a firm league to demand political equality. In all parts of the country Catholic Associations were formed under the direction of the priests. Small at first, they grew in numbers and soon made their power felt, while their actions were kept within the strict letter of the law. Attempts of the local authorities and of the general government to suppress them were baffled. In 1815 O'Connell having in a speech called the corporation of Dublin "beggarly," was challenged by D'Esterre, one of its members. In the ensuing duel D'Esterre received a mortal wound. O'Connell, deeply grieved, would never thereafter

send or accept a challenge. In course of years the Catholic Association grew to vast proportions. The mighty giant, who had slumbered so long under the mountain of oppression, was roused to turn his bulky body, even at the imminent risk of Protestant supremacy. O'Connell was the head of the national movement, not merely by suggesting the idea or by eloquent advocacy of its purpose, but by careful guidance in restraining it from illegal acts. His appeal was through the united effort of the subject people to the conscience of the dominant race.

A momentous step was taken when in June, 1828, O'Connell was elected to Parliament from the county Clare. On proceeding to take his seat, he refused as a Roman Catholic to take the test oaths. These oaths had been framed for the express purpose of excluding members of that faith. The new challenge to the law caused protracted discussion both in Parliament and before the people of the United Kingdom. In Ireland the agitation rose to such a height that the leaders of the Conservative party, Sir Robert Peel and the Duke of Wellington, resolved to grant emancipation to the Catholics. The purpose was announced at the opening of Parliament in 1829, and in May, when the last of the civil disabilities imposed on Catholics were repealed, O'Connell took his seat. He gave hearty aid to Parliamentary Reform and voted with the Whigs. He afterwards represented Kerry and for several years Dublin. Kilkenny and the county Cork also claimed the honor of sending to Parliament the foremost of his race.

But Ireland needed more than a handful of representatives overwhelmed by a vast majority of members ignorant of her wants and adverse to her interests. The excitable natives, overjoyed at their first great victory, hastened to demand the abolition of tithes and the disestablishment of the alien church. The Whigs could give no sanction to such movement, and the people were now so roused that they could not submit to the prudent restraints of the past years of struggle. Violence became rampant, and the Government determined to suppress it. O'Connell sided with his countrymen, though they had violated his own principles. He was now a prominent debater in the House of Commons, powerful in argument,

forcible in denunciation, and often overbearing in manner. Yet he had personal dignity and self-respect. As the representative of a people, he refused office for himself, but he rejoiced when it was given to other Catholics. The welfare of Ireland lay nearest to his heart. When the Tory leader, Sir Robert Peel, became minister in 1841, O'Connell felt that the change boded ill for his country. His experience in what he regarded as an alien assembly had convinced him that the repeal of the legislative union between Great Britain and Ireland was the only means of obtaining lasting peace for his native land. Home rule was the true remedy for existing disorders. To this new object his grand talents were devoted for the remainder of his career. In the meantime, to compensate the representative of the Irish people for the loss of his income as a lawyer and to reward him for his public services, an annual subscription was organized and paid to him, under the truly Irish designation "rent." Monster meetings were organized and held by the friends of repeal on the royal hill of Tara, the Curragh of Kildare and other places memorable in Irish history. At these the Liberator skillfully roused the passionate feelings of his countrymen to the utmost pitch, yet always restrained them within the verge of the law. At last a meeting was called to be held at Clontarf, near Dublin, on Sunday, October 8, 1843. It seemed to have a military aspect, and the Government therefore on Saturday declared that the public peace was endangered by such assemblages and warned all people to keep away from Clontarf. O'Connell then countermanded the meeting; yet within a week, he, his son and other associates were arrested for conspiracy and sedition. They were tried and convicted. O'Connell was sentenced to a fine of £2,000 and imprisonment for a year. Appeal was taken to the House of Lords, and eventually the decision of the Irish judges was reversed. But the trial really gave a deathblow to the Repeal movement.

A new party had grown up within the ranks of the Repealers. It chafed at the restraints imposed by the conservatism of O'Connell. It was in sympathy with the Republican agitators on the Continent. Under the name "Young Ireland" it advocated the use of physical as well as moral force

to obtain its just demands. O'Connell, now seventy years old, was deeply distressed at the disappointment of his cherished hopes. His feeble health had compelled him to abandon political agitation even before gaunt famine swept over the country. Secluded in his sick-room, his physicians would not permit him to read the newspapers or engage in discussion. In 1847 he set out on a pilgrimage to Rome, to seek the Pope's blessing, but died on the way at Genoa, May 17th.

O'Connell's Entrance into Parliament.

In the May of 1829 the English House of Commons was the theatre of the last act in a great religious and political movement. A man had made his appearance on the floor of the House as the chosen representative of an Irish county, who was the object of the keenest curiosity to an assembly crowded beyond its custom. The galleries and the avenues of the House were filled with individuals anxious to learn as soon as possible the result of a certain event. Every eye in the chamber was riveted on the stranger who waited with grave, unmoved countenance for the moment when Mr. Speaker rising from his seat should desire new members to come to the table; the name of the stranger and the name of the constituency which he came there to represent were on every lip. The name of the constituency was the County Clare, and of its representative Daniel O'Connell. Well might the members of that thronged Senate gaze with eager interest on the stranger within their gates. He stood there as the champion of a cause and of a creed which had long been championless; he came as a conqueror in the name of those who had been conquered. Centuries of pain and passion, of injustice and of degradation worse than death, had found in this man their apostle and their vindicator. The Catholics of Ireland, so long the last among the nations, so long the outcasts of the law, the scorn of power and the sport of princes, were entering at last into the dearest of all human inheritances, and they owed their disenthrallment to the man of genius who waited in Westminster on that afternoon of early summer with the eyes of the world upon him.

How much this man had accomplished! Against the hostility of the Protestant ascendancy; against the apathy of his own people steeped in the Lethe of long oppression; against the soldiers of Sirr and the pistol of D'Esterre; against Veto and the friends of Veto; against Quarantotti advocating concession over

in Rome, and Fingall counseling compromise at home in Dublin; against Canning and Castlereagh resolutions; against Government prosecutions and State proscriptions, this man had fought his way. A new Titan, he had scaled Olympus and demanded admission into the councils of the Immortals. A Catholic, he came to the British House of Commons to champion the rights of his co-religionists, which at that very moment the Government had granted, owing in no small degree to his labors, toils and energy.

When O'Connell stood below the bar of the House, the House was but fresh from the discussions on the Catholic Emancipation Bill, which had been introduced in order to avoid civil war. That Ireland was raised from the stagnation of slavery to a mood in which she was ready to fight for her faith and freedom of conscience was in a great degree due to O'Connell. It is, of course, certain that in course of time Catholic Emancipation must have been conceded if there had been no O'Connell—if O'Connell had died of that fever which threatened his young manhood. But it would not have been conceded so soon. His indomitable energy, his unwearying patience, his marvellous eloquence had stimulated his friends, had formed a following, had frightened his foes, and now in this mid-May of 1829 Catholic Emancipation was an accomplished fact of some few days old. The Clare election was the immediate cause of Emancipation, and it was as the chosen of that struggle that O'Connell now waited to take his place in the House of Commons.

The Clare election was the great event of the day. The Duke of Wellington was at the head of the Tory ministry which had just succeeded to the temporary and trumpery Goderich administration. Lord John Russell had carried the Repeal of the Test Act and the Corporation Act, and this moderate measure of reform had offended Sir Robert Peel's supporters, and there were several secessions from the Cabinet. The vacant place of President of the Board of Trade was offered to Mr. Vesey Fitzgerald, member for the county of Clare. Mr. Fitzgerald accepted the offer, and as the assumption of office necessitated re-election, he immediately issued his address to his constituents. It is possible that he did not expect opposition; it is practically certain that the idea of his not being returned never occurred either to himself or to his friends. He considered his seat for Clare county to be as much his personal property as his hat.

The Catholics, it is true, had passed a resolution pledging

themselves to oppose every candidate who was not sworn to oppose the Duke of Wellington's Government. Even this pledge did not at first appear very inimical to Mr. Fitzgerald's peaceful return. The Whigs as well as the Tories were desirous to see him re-elected. Lord John Russell had the audacity to suggest to O'Connell that Mr. Fitzgerald should be allowed to be returned unopposed, and for a short time O'Connell had the weakness to hesitate as to his line of conduct. But if the leader for a moment faltered or paltered the country was in no compromising temper. O'Connell soon saw that Clare must be contested, and the only question left to answer was "By whom?" A Major McNamara was suggested, but Major McNamara declined to trouble the peace of Mr. Fitzgerald. There was a brief period of suspense, and then the three kingdoms were startled by the intelligence that O'Connell himself was coming forward to contest Clare.

At that time it was impossible for a Catholic to enter Parliament. The law did not, indeed, prohibit him from standing, from being returned, from crossing the seas to Westminster; but on the threshold of St. Stephen's he was called upon to take an infamous oath, and by a shameful shibboleth he was excluded from his rights. O'Connell could not take this oath, but he saw that the hour had come when the appearance of an Irish Catholic at the bar of the English House of Commons, demanding to be sworn according to his conscience and his creed, and supported in his demand by millions of fellow-countrymen and fellow-believers, would have an effect well-nigh irresistible upon the Government. He was making a bold stroke, and he knew it. The Government knew it too, and both sides strained every nerve for victory.

O'Connell, like Toussaint L'Ouverture in Wordsworth's poem, had great allies—with him were exaltations, agonies and love, and man's unconquerable mind. The sympathies of the people, newly awakened to a sense of their power, were with him. He had aroused a nation and made himself its leader. The whole story of the fight in the county Clare is one of the most exciting, as it is one of the most important, in the record of contested elections in Ireland. O'Connell was aided in his campaign by able and remarkable lieutenants. The Clare election seems a thing of the past, seems to belong to ancient history. More than half a century has since gone by, a half century big with importance to the Irish people. Well-nigh two generations of men have come and gone since O'Connell came forward on the Clare hustings,

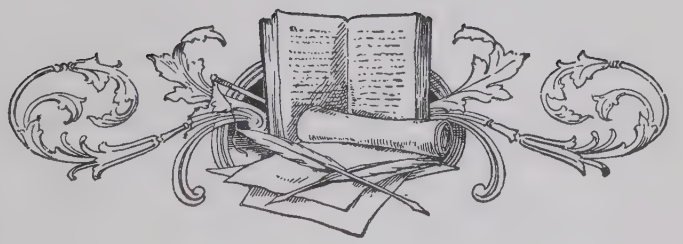
and no generation of Irishmen has ever witnessed or taken part in events more fateful to their country. It is a half-century which has witnessed two armed risings in Ireland, a half-century of incessant coercive laws, a half-century that has seen the Irish race dwindle by millions through famine and emigration, a half-century that has seen a new Irish race grow up on the other side of the Atlantic, no less patriotic, no less determined than their kindred in the parent island; a half-century that has seen extorted from reluctant ministers concession after concession, and piecemeal measures of reform. Such a half-century lies between us of to-day and the men of the Clare election. The big events of such an interval in themselves seem well-nigh to double the actual length of time, and O'Connell and his compeers appear almost as far from us, almost as much the mighty ghosts of heroes as Emmet, or Grattan, or the men of '98.

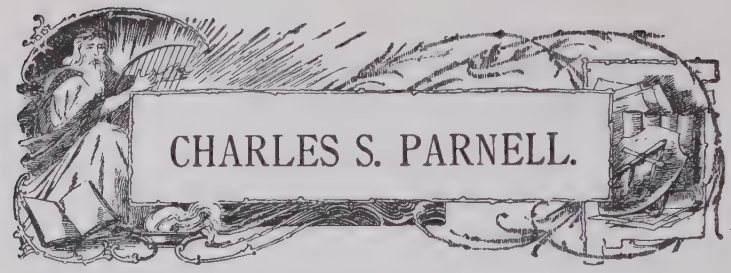
That crowded assembly watched O'Connell standing below the bar of the House between Lord Ebrington and Lord Duncannon. Presently the speaker rose and called upon new members desirous of taking the oath to come to the table. O'Connell advanced between his introducers to take the oath. It had been O'Connell's intention, when originally he stood for Clare, to come to the House of Commons and to refuse to take the shameful oath then tendered to Catholics. He believed that the result of such a daring step would be to advance materially the cause of Catholic emancipation. But the cause of Catholic emancipation had not to wait for that. The Clare election settled the matter, and between the time when O'Connell came forward to contest the county, and the time when he stood at the bar of the House waiting to be sworn, Catholic emancipation had become the law of the land.

With petty ingenuity, however, Sir Robert Peel had provided that only those who should be returned as members to the House of Commons "after the commencement of that Act" should be allowed to take their seats under the new oaths. O'Connell had been returned before the bill became law, and against him this retrospective clause was leveled. He, of course, refused to take the infamous form of oath which, except to him, was never again to be offered to a Catholic. He was directed to withdraw and he did so. An animated discussion at once sprang up as to whether or not he should be heard at the bar of the House in his own defence. The debate was continued upon another day, and for three days in all this matter occupied the attention of the House.

O'Connell was finally allowed to speak in his own defence at the bar. He made a long and eloquent speech. The old offensive oath was again tendered to him, and again he refused to take it in words which are now historic. He declined to take the oath because "one part of it he knew to be false, and another he did not believe to be true." A new writ was issued for the County Clare. But the action of Sir Robert Peel had no further effect than of allowing O'Connell a further triumph. He was, of course, immediately re-elected.

The Irish people owe much to O'Connell. They owe to him the privilege of professing in freedom the faith of their fathers; they owe to him the long agitation against the Union which kept alive the spirit of patriotism, and obeyed the commands of Grattan to keep knocking at the Union.—JUSTIN MCCARTHY.





SINCE the time of Daniel O'Connell, Charles S. Parnell, a man of entirely different character and methods, has been the greatest leader of the Irish people in their struggle for political rights. Though born in Ireland, he was of English Protestant descent, the family belonging originally to Cheshire. He had none of the usual winning gifts or traits of Irish leaders, but was cold-blooded in speech and action, yet effected more for his country than warm-hearted, impulsive, eloquent speakers had been able to achieve. The great English Liberal was compelled to adopt the cause of Home Rule, and in spite of the tremendous obstacles in his way, a still greater victory seemed not unlikely to be won when the exposure of scandalous immorality brought shame and ruin upon himself and his cause.

Charles Stewart Parnell was born at Avondale, County Wicklow, Ireland, in June, 1846. His paternal grandfather, Sir Henry Parnell, was a member of Parliament, and in 1841 was raised to the peerage as Lord Congleton. His maternal grandfather was Rear-Admiral Charles Stewart (1778–1869), of the United States navy, who commanded the frigate "Constitution" in the war of 1812, and, like her, won the sobriquet of "Old Ironsides." His young namesake was educated in English schools and at Cambridge University, but did not complete a college course. He cared little for literature or art, but took interest in chemistry and applied science. After traveling through the United States he settled on his estate in Ireland, and in 1874 was made sheriff of the county. In the next year he was elected to Parliament from Meath as a Home Ruler. Isaac Butt was then the leader of that party,

which had started in 1870. Before Butt's death Biggar had begun the policy of obstruction which Parnell was afterwards to wield with tremendous effect. If the House of Commons would give no attention to Irish bills, then English bills should not be allowed to get through. All Parliamentary work must be stopped until the Irish grievances were redressed. By persistent speaking on every subject that afforded an opportunity the Irish members wore out the patience of the English. Parnell was cool, calm, business-like, always kept to the point, and rarely was aggressive. He knew just how far to go without exciting a row. The Home Rule party then sought for a reform in the Irish land laws which was summed up in the three F's—Fixity of Tenure, Fair Rent, and Free Sale. In 1879 the potato crop in Ireland failed for the third time in three years. Evictions of tenants from their little holdings followed in great numbers. Parnell, now recognized as the leader of the Irish party, was induced by Michael Davitt to approve the National Land League, which aimed at peasant proprietorship. In October, 1879, Parnell was made president of the League, which soon shook society to its foundations. In 1880 the Liberal party, headed by Gladstone, had achieved a great victory at the polls. In the new Parliament, Parnell, with his thirty-four Irish members, continued the policy of obstruction. W. E. Forster, Secretary for Ireland, highly renowned as a humane Liberal, was so irritated by the warfare of the League that he introduced coercion bills. Parnell cried to the Irish: "Hold a firm grip on your homesteads." "Ireland cannot afford to lose a single man." Gladstone found that something must be done to conciliate the discontented people, and brought in a Land Bill, far surpassing the dreams of previous agitators. Parnell resolved to maintain the organization until it was proved that the courts would execute the new act in an equitable manner. Forster determined to crush all opposition. He suspended the Habeas Corpus, and called for the disarming of the Irish people. From one of his imprudent remarks he received the sobriquet of "Buckshot Forster." A thousand prominent Leaguers were already in prison when, in October, 1881, he arrested Parnell and his lieutenants and committed them to Kilmainham Jail, Dublin.

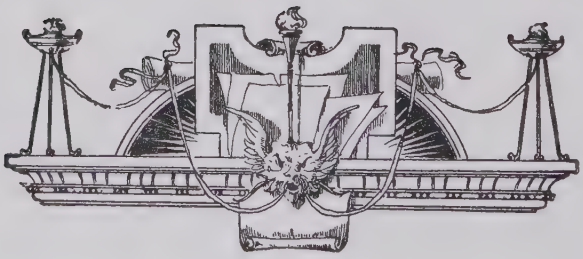
The whole League was outlawed. But it still had power, and it forbade the people to pay rent. A fierce struggle ensued. The Pope condemned the Land League, but the people stood fast by Parnell, and again Gladstone gave way. Forster was dismissed. Parnell was released on parole in April, 1882, and unconditionally in May. His return to Parliament was a notable triumph, and the Irish party seemed likely to secure new reforms. The world was startled to learn that the new Secretary of Ireland, Lord Frederick Cavendish, and his assistant, Edmund Burke, had been assassinated in Phœnix Park, Dublin. At once a Crimes Act was passed, and the dream of Home Rule was dashed to the ground. Cloture acts had increased the power of the Speaker over debate and baffled obstruction.

While Parnell was in jail the people had contributed £40,000 to clear his estate from mortgage, and render his mind easy as to money affairs. Through all his career he was aiming at the legislative independence of Ireland—the repeal of the Union—for which O'Connell had given the later years of his life. The number of voters in Ireland was increased from 250,000 to 750,000, and a larger proportion of Home Rulers was returned to Parliament. In 1885 Parnell had 84 out of 103 Irish members. By helping the Conservatives he could neutralize the Liberal majority, and this he was ready to do. In June, 1885, the Liberals were defeated, and in the following election the Tories were aided by Irish votes. But when they refused to grant the demands of the Home Rulers the latter helped to reinstate Gladstone in January, 1886. That statesman introduced the Home Rule bill, but it caused a division in his own party. He was defeated and the Conservatives returned to power, apparently stronger than before. The fight for the land in Ireland waxed fiercer. A new device called "The Plan of Campaign" was carried out. In England the Gladstonian Liberals were enthusiastic for Home Rule, and many British members visited Ireland to testify their sympathy. Then came a remarkable episode, when the London *Times* published a series of articles on "Parnellism and Crime." Their object was to prove that Parnell, while claiming to be using only constitutional methods for

attainment of his aims, was inciting the Irish people to crime. The chief reliance was placed on letters published in facsimile. Parnell denounced them as forgeries, and prosecuted the *Times*. After considerable litigation, it was fully established that the letters had been forged by one Pigott, a hanger-on of the Irish party, and sold to the *Times*. Pigott fled from England and committed suicide in Spain. The *Times* paid the damages adjudged against it. Parnell's ascendancy seemed more firmly established than ever. He had put down all rivalries, reconciled all factions, and united the Irish race over all the world in the effort for the legislative independence of Ireland. Then came a terrible catastrophe. Captain O'Shea, an Irish member of Parliament, had in 1880 introduced Parnell to his wife. The two fell in love, and for some years, without the husband's knowledge, were in the most intimate relations. In 1889 Captain O'Shea sued for divorce. Davitt and other supporters of Home Rule were induced to believe Parnell was innocent until he allowed the case to go by default. The divorce was granted in November, 1890. It appeared that Parnell had carried on the intrigue by renting houses under feigned names, and used other duplicity. After the divorce Parnell married Mrs. O'Shea. The final exposure bewildered and divided the Home Rulers. Offences against chastity are most repellent to the Irish people. Yet their attachment to political leaders is deep-seated. To abandon Parnell appeared like giving up Home Rule, then felt to be almost within their grasp. Parnell considered that his private wrong-doing should have no effect on his public standing. He was re-elected to the Parliament which met a week after the divorce. Gladstone and many Irishmen hoped that he would retire, and endeavored to persuade him to do so, but in vain. He insisted on retaining his leadership, and exerted himself to the utmost in fighting his foes, old and new. The authorities of the Catholic church, deeply offended at his criminal conduct, drew off most of his followers. There was no longer unity of purpose among the Irish members, and they spent their strength in fighting each other, to the intense delight of the Unionists. Parnell, who after his imprisonment had seemed to have lost his earnestness, now made frantic efforts

to regain his power. But he only wore himself out. The end came suddenly when he died on October 6, 1891, aged fifty-five. Strange to say, the quarrel caused by his immorality became more bitter after his decease. The English supporters of Home Rule held aloof from the Irish factions. Through the rise of imperialism the attainment of Home Rule has been indefinitely postponed.

Parnell was a handsome man of the English type, quiet in manner and pleasant in conversation, but with no gift of oratory. He avoided public display, and stuck close to business. His political power was due to his accurate judgment of what could be obtained at the time, his skill in framing methods, and his unflinching tenacity. Much of his success was due to the lieutenants whom he brought into harmonious action, though their ideals were widely different from his own.



CHIEF JUSTICE MARSHALL.

THE unique position and unprecedented power of the Supreme Court of the United States have excited the wonder and admiration of thoughtful students of government throughout the world. The influence and grandeur of this tribunal are due more to John Marshall than to any other individual. Upon the simple yet massive fundamental expressions of the Constitution he inaugurated the erection of an edifice surpassing the pyramids in stability and grandeur.

John Marshall was born in Fauquier county, Virginia, on the 24th of September, 1755. He was the eldest of fifteen children of Thomas Marshall, who had been associated with Washington in surveying the lands of Lord Fairfax. The son found delight in field-sports, yet studied the classics and had familiarity with the English poets. In 1775 he was made first lieutenant of the Culpeper minutemen, who wore green hunting-shirts. They assisted in defeating Lord Dunmore at Great Bridge. In 1777 Marshall, now captain, fought at Brandywine and Germantown, and endured the privations of Valley Forge. In the next year he was engaged at Monmouth, Stony Point and Paulus Hook. In the winter of 1779 he returned to Virginia and began to study law. Scarcely had he begun practice when Benedict Arnold's invasion of Virginia called him again to arms. In 1782 Marshall was elected to the legislature, in which he served ten years, and on his marriage, in 1783, he settled in Richmond permanently.

When the Federal Constitution was offered for ratification in 1788, Marshall sided with Madison in supporting it. Virginia was the headquarters of the State rights party, but Marshall was a Federalist, holding with Washington that the Federal government to be respected and obeyed, must have suffi-

cient power to maintain its own existence. He was an earnest defender of Washington's administration, especially when clamor was raised against Jay's treaty with England. When the President offered him the post of attorney general of the United States, he declined. In 1797 President Adams sent Marshall, C. C. Pinckney and Elbridge Gerry to Paris to adjust the disputes which had arisen between France and the United States. When a money payment to the Directory was required as preliminary to the treaty, the Americans disdained to negotiate, and returned to the United States, where their conduct was warmly approved. Marshall, being elected to Congress, became there the exponent of the Federal party. In 1800 he was appointed Secretary of State, and in the following January was made Chief Justice of the Supreme Court. This position he held with ever-increasing reputation and unsullied integrity for thirty-four years.

Chief Justice Marshall took his seat on the bench at the first session of the court held in Washington. He soon had an opportunity to show his loyalty to the Constitution. In the case of Marbury *versus* Madison, the Court held that Congress could not give original jurisdiction to the Supreme Court in cases not sanctioned by the Constitution. This was the first announcement of the right of the Supreme Court to declare void an act of Congress on account of its repugnance to the Constitution. This principle was unknown to British law, as the power of Parliament is not limited by a written Constitution. Yet the Court stated that Madison had unjustly withheld from Marbury the commission for an office to which he had been appointed by President Adams. Though the Court had no power to enforce this opinion, the declaration left a lasting impress on the relation of executive officers to the courts. In other cases Marshall and his associates supported the dignity and paramount power of the Federal Government, and the acts of any State in contravention of the Constitution were declared null and void. When Aaron Burr was tried for treason at Richmond in 1807 Marshall presided in the District Court, and his strict construction of the law saved the defendant from conviction. In the famous Dartmouth College case the Supreme Court held that the charter of a college or of any cor-

poration is a contract between the State and the trustees which, under the Constitution, cannot be revoked or altered at the pleasure of a legislature. This decision has brought every incorporated institution in the land under the protection of the national Constitution. In 1832 Chief Justice Marshall held that the Cherokee Indians in Georgia were under the sole care of the United States and that the State laws were void within the limits of the tribe. But President Jackson bluntly said, "John Marshall has made the decision, now let him execute it." The Chief Justice, however, had no desire to usurp executive functions. He was now an old man and suffered from a disease of the bladder. Having gone to Philadelphia for medical relief, he died there July 6, 1835. The famous Liberty bell of Independence Hall was cracked in tolling for his funeral.

Marshall was tall, meagre, loose-jointed and ungainly in movement; but his easy manners, placidity and sweetness of temper won for him hosts of friends. He was a sincere Christian, a member of the Episcopal Church, and Vice-President of the American Bible Society. As a judge he was noted for intellectual penetration and power of analysis, carefulness of investigation, closeness of logic, and absolute impartiality. The decisions in which he explained, defended and enforced the Constitution, shed upon the ascending pathway of the Republic the combined lustre of learning, intelligence and integrity. The system of jurisprudence which he was foremost in creating ranks among the most admired intellectual productions of the world.

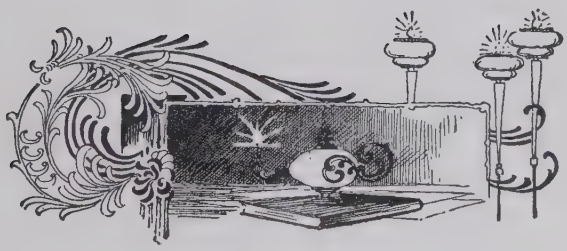
The Supreme Court's Sure Foundation.

However anxious Marshall might be as to the future, the past was secure, and he could reflect with serene satisfaction upon what had been accomplished. The clouds that gathered about his dying head burned with the unquenchable glories of his matchless day. He and his associates had considered jointly many of the most important powers of Congress; they had established and sustained the supremacy of the United States; their right as a creditor to priority of payment, their right to institute and protect an incorporated bank, to lay a general and indefinite embargo, to levy taxes, to pre-empt Indian lands, to control the

State militia, to promote internal improvements, to regulate commerce with foreign nations and among the States, to establish a uniform rule of naturalization and uniform laws on the subject of bankruptcy; they had dealt with a mass of implied powers incidental to the express powers of Congress, they had enforced the Constitutional restrictions upon the powers of the States; they had stricken down pretentious efforts to emit bills of credit, to pass *ex post facto* laws, to control or impede the exercise of Federal powers, to impair the obligations of contracts, to tax national agencies, to exercise power over ceded territory, to cripple commerce and to defy the lawful decrees of the Federal Courts. They had faced the frowns of Jefferson and Jackson and conquered both by invincible logic. They had subjected the ministerial officers of the Executive Department to the control of the judiciary, and had shivered into atoms the pretensions of Congress to over-ride the Constitution. They had defined the jurisdiction of the Federal Courts, both original and appellate, and had sustained against the most stubborn resistance of sovereign States the right of the supreme tribunal to supervise decrees of State courts when denying a right conferred by the Constitution. They had dealt with all those lofty questions of international law which grew out of the war of 1812; they had developed the admiralty and maritime jurisdiction of the District Courts, as well in matters of prize as on the instance side of the court, and had extended the application of the principles of commercial law. They had swept through the domain of chancery and placed the law of trusts and charities upon a stable basis. They had reared a solid and magnificent structure, destined "at no distant period of time to cast a shadow over the less elevated and less attractive and ambitious systems of justice in the several States." In doing this they entitled themselves forever to the gratitude and veneration of posterity. These results had been accomplished solely through the moral force which belonged to the independent position of the judiciary. With no direct control over the sword or purse of the nation, with no armed force behind them, surrounded by no halo of military achievements to dazzle the people, supported by no party obedient to their behests, with no patronage to distribute, and with no appropriations to attract a crowd of camp followers, the Judges of the Supreme Court, placed by the Constitution beyond the reach of partisan influences and protected by the life tenure of their offices from sudden gusts of passion, wrought on in the quiet performance of their duty, without fear or favor, and

relied for the results upon the reverence of the people for the majestic and final utterances of the law, with a proud consciousness of their authority.

The judgments of Marshall carried the Constitution through the experimental period and settled the question of its supremacy. "Time has demonstrated their wisdom. They have remained unchanged, unquestioned, unchallenged. All the subsequent labors of that high tribunal on the subject of Constitutional law have been founded on, and have at least professed and attempted to follow them. There they remain. They will always remain. They will stand as long as the Constitution stands. And if that should perish they would still remain to display to the world the principles upon which it rose and by the disregard of which it fell."—HAMPTON L. CARSON.



ALBERT GALLATIN.

NATIVES of Continental Europe have seldom been able to win a prominent place in the conduct of American affairs. The most distinguished exceptions are Albert Gallatin and Carl Schurz. The former took honorable part in the councils of his adopted country and rendered valuable service both in finance and diplomacy. He was born at Geneva, Switzerland, on the 29th of February, 1761. When but two years old he lost his father, and seven years later his mother. His education was conducted by relatives, and he graduated from the University of Geneva in 1779. His grandmother's influence procured for him the offer of a commission as lieutenant-colonel of Hessian troops then serving in America, but the liberty-loving youth refused it, saying he would never serve a tyrant. Eager for the freedom of the New World, he left Geneva secretly with a friend early in 1780, and arrived at Boston in July. After an unsuccessful trading venture in Maine amid war's alarms, he taught French to students of Harvard College for two years. Then he journeyed to Philadelphia and made the acquaintance of leading citizens. Having received a legacy he purchased lands in Western Virginia for the purpose of forming a settlement. While surveying these lands, Gallatin first met Washington, who was also interested in that region. Washington was seated in a land agent's log cabin, questioning hunters and making calculations with reference to a route for a road across the Alleghanies. While Washington was deliberately making his notes, the quick-witted Swiss suddenly cried, "Oh, it's plain enough that [such a place] is the most practicable." Washington looked at him with displeasure, but did not speak; after some further calculations, he turned to Gallatin, and said, "You

are right, sir." Later Washington made inquiries about Gallatin, and receiving satisfactory replies asked him to become his land agent, but Gallatin declined the situation. In 1786 he purchased land on the Monongahela river in Fayette county, Pennsylvania, and opened a country store.

Gallatin had been naturalized in 1785 and now took part in political affairs. Coming from Republican Geneva, he was opposed to the centralizing tendency of the Federal Constitution. In 1789 he was a member of the convention to revise the Constitution of Pennsylvania, and afterwards was elected to the legislature as an Anti-Federalist. In 1793 the legislature chose him United States senator. When he took his seat his right to it was disputed on the ground that he had not been a citizen for nine years, as required by the Constitution, and at the end of two months he was declared ineligible. In south-western Pennsylvania opposition to the Federal excise laws culminated in what has been called the "Whiskey Insurrection." Gallatin was a leading adviser of the people and assisted in bringing about a peaceful accommodation, after the troops had been called out. He was elected to Congress in 1795, and joined the Republican opposition to Washington's administration. This opposition was especially shown in the ineffectual resistance to Jay's treaty with Great Britain. Gallatin became the rival and critic of Alexander Hamilton in matters of finance. Besides maintaining his views in debate he published pamphlets on the finances and public debt. To him was due the establishment of the Committee of Ways and Means as a standing committee. During Adams's administration Gallatin became the acknowledged leader of his party in the House. Hamilton urged that the United States should be a strong government, able to maintain its dignity abroad and its power at home at all times and in all emergencies. Gallatin held that its dignity would protect itself if the people would use its resources for self-development, and that its domestic authority should rest only on consent of the people.

When Jefferson succeeded to the Presidency in 1801 he appointed Gallatin Secretary of the Treasury. This economist at once undertook the reduction of the public debt and

obtained high reputation as a financier. On January 1, 1802, the public debt was $86,712,632. In ten years this burden was reduced to $45,209,738. This reduction was accomplished without the aid of internal taxes, and without any increase of duties on imports for most of the time. When the time limit of the first United States Bank was about to expire, Gallatin recommended its re-charter, but the sentiment of his party was opposed to it, and George Clinton, then Vice-President, gave the casting vote in the Senate against it. Similarly Gallatin was opposed to going to war with Great Britain in 1812, but was overruled. But the financial burden of the war fell on him. He urged that sufficient taxes should be laid to defray the ordinary expenses of the government and interest on the debt, and that war expenditures should be raised from loans. Congress would not adopt an adequate system of taxation. Gallatin recommended an internal revenue system, but the Democratic party had always been opposed to it. They were willing that he should negotiate loans, but not to tax the people to pay the loans. The six loans made during the war amounted to $80,000,000, though owing to discounts and depreciation, the government did not obtain one-half that sum. A cabal was formed against Gallatin, and he practically left the Treasury in 1813.

The Emperor Alexander I. of Russia having offered to mediate between the United States and England, President Madison sent Gallatin and J. A. Bayard to St. Petersburg. The Senate, however, refused to confirm Gallatin's appointment as being incompatible with his duty as secretary. The British government did not accept the mediation, but in 1814 proposed a direct negotiation for peace. Gallatin, who was still in Europe, was made one of the commissioners and now resigned his secretaryship.

The negotiations at Ghent were prolonged for months on account of the exorbitant demands of the British, flushed with their success over Napoleon, and the disagreements of the American commissioners. The conciliatory powers of Gallatin were taxed to the utmost, and the treaty, finally signed December 24, 1814, was peculiarly his triumph. His services were soon rewarded by his being appointed United States

minister to France, but before entering on his duties he spent some time in travel and in the commercial convention held in London. While in Paris Gallatin rendered important service to Alexander Baring in negotiating a loan to the French government. Baring wished him to take part of the loan and offered such special inducements that Gallatin might have realized a fortune. But he said, "I thank you; I will not accept your obliging offer, because a man who has had the direction of the finances of his country as long as I have should not die rich."

On his return to the United States in 1823 Gallatin declined a seat in President Monroe's cabinet, and also the nomination for Vice President by the Democratic party. President J. Q. Adams appointed him in 1826 envoy extraordinary to Great Britain to negotiate commercial treaties. On his return Gallatin settled in New York city, where he became in 1831 president of the National Bank of New York. In the same year he attended the Free Trade convention held in Philadelphia, and prepared for it the memorial submitted to Congress. He also took part in the formation of the University of the City of New York.

At the age of seventy-eight Gallatin resigned the presidency of the bank, in which he was succeeded by his son James. The retired octogenarian continued to take interest in public affairs, as was shown by his pamphlets on the Maine boundary (1840), on the Oregon question (1846) on peace with Mexico (1847), and war expenses (1848). He had the honor of being the first president of the New York Historical Society and of the American Ethnological Society, which mainly owed its origin to his labors. As early as 1823 he had, at the request of Baron Von Humboldt, written an essay on the American Indians, and he afterward published a "Synopsis of the Indian Tribes" (1836), and "Semi-civilized Nations of Mexico, Yucatan and Central America" (1845). Gallatin died at the house of his son-in-law at Astoria, N. Y., on the 12th of August, 1849, at the advanced age of eighty-eight. An excellent biography of this versatile statesman has been written by Henry Adams, who has also edited his writings.

Although Gallatin was driven from office and power by

the war of 1812, it is noteworthy that the government afterwards returned to his economical system. The national debt has been discharged more than once, and the policy of restricting the issue of loans solely to extraordinary demands as enunciated by Gallatin, has become a fixed principle of our national polity.

The Treaty of Ghent.

The American Commissioners were busy in framing their *projet*, and in disputing among themselves in regard to the extension they should give to the principle of the *status quo ante bellum* as applied to other than territorial questions, and especially to the fisheries and the Mississippi.

The task of preparing articles on impressment, blockade and indemnities was assigned to Mr. Adams; but as these articles were at once declared inadmissible by the British, and were abandoned in consequence, the whole stress of negotiation fell upon those respecting boundaries and fisheries, which Mr. Gallatin undertook to prepare. On this point local jealousies were involved, which not only troubled the harmony of the mission, but left seeds that afterwards developed into a ferocious controversy between some of its members. This was owing to the fact that the treaty of 1783 had, to a certain extent, coupled the American right to fish in British waters with a British right to navigate the Mississippi. The British now proposed to put an abrupt end to the American fisheries, but seemed disposed to retain the navigation of the Mississippi. To settle the question, Mr. Gallatin drew up an article by which the two articles of the treaty of 1783 on these points were recognized and confirmed. To this Mr. Clay energetically objected, and a prolonged discussion took place. The question what the fisheries were worth was a question of fact, which was susceptible of answer; but no human being could say what the navigation of the Mississippi was worth, and for this very reason there could be no agreement. Whatever the right of navigation might amount to in national interest, it was very likely to equal the whole value of Mr. Clay's personal popularity; and whatever the fisheries might be worth to New England, their loss was certain to bankrupt Mr. Adams's political fortunes. Mr. Gallatin acted here not merely the part of a peacemaker, but that of an economist. He took upon himself the burden of saving the fisheries, and not only drafted the article which offered to renew the treaty stipulations of 1783, and

thus set off the fisheries against the Mississippi, but assumed the brunt of the argument against Mr. Clay, who would listen to no suggestion of a return in this respect to the old status. On the 5th of November the commissioners came to a vote on Mr. Gallatin's proposed article; Mr. Clay and Mr. Russell opposed it; Mr. Gallatin, Mr. Adams and Mr. Bayard approved it, and it was voted that the article should be inserted in the American projet. Mr. Clay declared that he would not put his name to the note, though he should not go so far as to refuse his signature to the treaty.

The next day, however, a compromise was made. Mr. Clay proposed that Mr. Gallatin's article should be laid aside, and that, instead of a provision expressly inserted in the projet, a paragraph should be inserted in the note which was to accompany the projet. The idea suggested in this paragraph was that the commissioners were not authorized to bring the fisheries into discussion, because the treaty of 1783 was by its peculiar nature a permanent arrangement, and the United States could not concede its abrogation. True, the right to the Mississippi was thus made permanent, as well as the right to the fisheries; but Mr. Clay conceived that this right could be valid only so far as it was independent of the acquisition of Louisiana.

The reasoning seemed somewhat casuistic; Mr. Gallatin hesitated; he much doubted whether the provisions of 1783 about the fisheries and the Mississippi were in their nature permanent; on this point he believed the British to have the best of the argument; but the advantages of unanimity and of obedience to instructions outweighed his doubts. Mr. Clay's compromise was accordingly adopted, but at the same time Mr. Adams, with the strong support of Mr. Gallatin, succeeded in adding the declaration that the commissioners were ready to sign a treaty which should apply the principle of the *status quo ante bellum* to all the subjects of difference. Mr. Clay resisted as long as he could, but at last signed with his colleagues, and the projet sent in on November 10th accordingly contained no allusion to the fisheries or the Mississippi.

The British counter-projet sent in on November 26th contained accordingly no allusion to the fisheries and took no notice of Mr. Clay's paragraph in regard to the treaty of 1783, but, on the other hand, contained a clause stipulating for the free navigation of the Mississippi. When this counter-projet came up for discussion in the American commission on the 28th of Novem-

ber another hot dispute arose. Mr. Gallatin proposed to accept the British clause in regard to the Mississippi, and to add another clause to continue the liberty of taking, drying and curing fish, "as secured by the former treaty of peace." To this proposition Mr. Clay offered a stout resistance; he maintained that the fisheries were of little or no value, while the Mississippi was of immense importance, and he could see no sort of reason in treating them as equivalent. Mr. Adams maintained just the opposite view, and after the dispute had lasted the better part of two days, "Mr. Gallatin brought us all to unison again by a joke. He said he perceived that Mr. Adams cared nothing at all about the navigation of the Mississippi, and thought of nothing but the fisheries. Mr. Clay cared nothing at all about the fisheries, and thought of nothing but the Mississippi. The East was perfectly willing to sacrifice the West, and the West equally ready to sacrifice the East. Now, he was a Western man, and would give the navigation of the river for the fisheries. Mr. Russell was an Eastern man, and was ready to do the same."

The proposition was accordingly made, and met with a prompt refusal from the British government, which proposed to adopt a new article by which both subjects should be referred to a future negotiation. This offer gave rise among the commissioners to a fresh contest, waged hotly about the point whether or not the United States should concede that a right fixed by the treaty of 1783 was open to negotiation. Here Mr. Gallatin parted company with Mr. Adams. He was unwilling to pledge the government to the doctrine that liberties granted by the treaty of 1783 could not be discussed, and he carried all his colleagues with him, Mr. Adams only excepted, in favor of a qualified acceptance of the British proposition, provided the engagement to negotiate applied to all the subjects of difference not yet adjusted, and provided it involved no abandonment of any rights in the fisheries claimed by the United States.

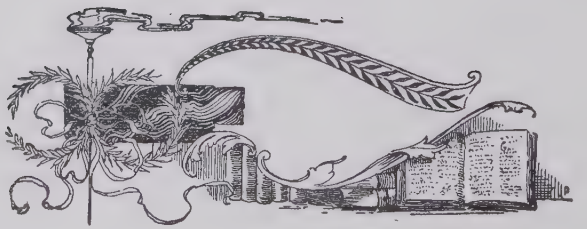
After Mr. Gallatin had, with no little difficulty, succeeded in carrying his point, and after the usual delay consequent on the inevitable reference to London, an answer was returned on the 22d of December. Somewhat to the discomfiture of both Mr. Clay and Mr. Adams, the Eastern and Western belligerents, this reply suddenly drew their war chariots from under them. The British government was now more eager for peace than the American commissioners; it declared that it cared nothing about its proposed article by which the fisheries and the Mississippi were to

be referred to negotiation, and would withdraw it with pleasure, so that the treaty might be silent on the subject. The practical result was that Mr. Adams's view of the treaty of 1783 inevitably became the doctrine of his government, and that Mr. Clay was overset. Mr. Clay saw this, and was nettled by it; but Mr. Gallatin's very delicate management, and the now clearly avowed desire of the British government to make peace, had clinched the settlement; further discussion or delay was out of the question, and three days later, on Christmas Day, the treaty was signed.

Far more than contemporaries ever supposed or than is now imagined, the treaty of Ghent was the special work and peculiar triumph of Mr. Gallatin. From what a fearful collapse it rescued the government, every reader knows. How bitterly it irritated the war party in England, and what clamors were raised against it by the powerful interests that were bent on "punishing" the United States, can be seen in the old leaders of the *London Times*. What Lord Castlereagh at Vienna thought of it may be read in his letter of January 2, 1815, to Lord Liverpool: "The courier from Ghent with the news of the peace arrived yesterday morning. It has produced the greatest possible sensation here, and will, I have no doubt, enter largely into the calculations of our opponents. It is a most auspicious and seasonable event. I wish you joy of being released from the millstone of an American war." The peace was due primarily to the good sense of Lord Castlereagh, Lord Liverpool, and the Duke of Wellington; but there is fair room to doubt whether that good sense would have been kept steady to its purpose, and whether the American negotiators could have been held together in theirs, without the controlling influence of Mr. Gallatin's resource, tact, and authority; whether, indeed, any negotiation at all could have been brought about except through Mr. Gallatin's personal efforts, from the time he supported the mission in the cabinet to the time when he took the responsibility of going to England. Sooner or later peace must have come, but there may be fair reason to think that, without Mr. Gallatin, the United States must have fought another campaign, and, Mr. Clay to the contrary notwithstanding, the position of New England and of the finances made peace vitally necessary. On that subject, Mr. Gallatin's knowledge of New England and of finance made him a wiser counsellor than Mr. Clay. Yet if Mr. Clay really had thought as he talked, he would not have crossed the ocean to assist in doing precisely what Mr. Gallatin's policy dictated; he well knew that the United States could

possibly win in the field no advantages to compensate for the inevitable mischief that another year of war must have caused to the government.

Be this as it may, the task was done in the true spirit of Mr. Gallatin's political philosophy and in the fullest sympathy with his old convictions. Stress of circumstances had wrested control from his hands, had blocked his path as Secretary of the Treasury and had plunged the country headlong into difficulties it was not yet competent to manage. Gallatin had abandoned place and power, had thrown himself with all his energy upon the only point where he could make his strength effective, and had actually succeeded, by skill and persistence, in guiding the country back to safe and solid ground. He was not a man to boast of his exploits, and he never claimed peculiar credit in any of these transactions, but as he signed the treaty of Ghent, he could fairly say that no one had done more than himself to serve his country, and no one had acted a more unselfish part.—HENRY ADAMS.



DANIEL BOONE.

DANIEL BOONE, the hero of the backwoods, was the typical pioneer of the American wilderness, whose exploits have stimulated the imaginations of later generations of Americans by the stern and virile romance of border life. He was born in Bucks county, Pennsylvania, in 1741. His parents were emigrants from Bridgenorth, England, and afterwards settled on the banks of the Yadkin in North Carolina. Daniel's fondness for hunting was displayed at a very early age. Before he was twenty years old, he married and engaged in farming. His love of adventure was satisfied by entering the militia, in which he rose to the rank of colonel. But he was ambitious to explore the country beyond the Alleghenies, which thus far limited the settlements of the English colonists. On the 1st of May, 1769, he started for the wilderness of Kentucky, with five companions. One of these, John Finley, had previously penetrated this region and brought word of its attractions. The others were John Stuart, Joseph Holden, James Money and William Cool. They settled on the banks of the Red river. On December 22, Boone and Stuart were captured by Indians, but a week later they managed to make their escape. Hastening back to their camp they found it deserted. Stuart was soon shot by the Indians, but Boone was joined by his brother. Together they hunted until May, 1770, when the brother went back to Carolina for supplies. When he returned in July with am-

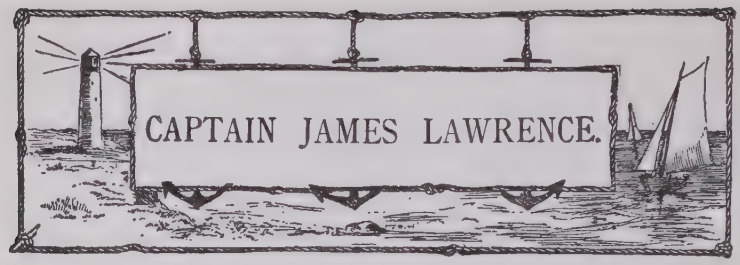
munition and horses, they traversed the country to the Cumberland River.

In March, 1771, Daniel Boone returned to Carolina to bring his family to a new home in the wilderness. They were joined by five other families and forty men. On the journey they were attacked by Indians, who slew six of the whites, including Boone's eldest son. They settled on the Clinch river in Tennessee, where Boone remained until June, 1774. He then, at the request of Governor Dunmore of Virginia, conducted a party of surveyors to the Falls of the Ohio, near where Louisville now stands. After his return he had command of three forts during a campaign against the Shawanese. In April, 1775, Boone erected on the southern bank of the Kentucky river, where Boonesborough now stands, a fort, consisting of a block-house and several cabins, enclosed with palisades. His family was then removed from Clinch river to this fort, and Boone's wife and daughter were the first white women in Kentucky. The settlers were still liable to attacks from the Indians. On July 14, 1776, Boone's daughter and two other young women were taken captive. Boone with eighteen men pursued the Indians, slew two of them and rescued the captives. In February, 1778, Boone himself was captured by a party of Indians and Frenchmen, who carried him with them until on reaching Chillicothe he discovered that an attack was meditated on Boonesborough. On the 16th of June he effected his escape and arrived at the fort on the 20th, having traveled 160 miles with only one meal. Immediate measures were taken for defence. On August 8th, the Indians arrived, let by Captain Duquesne and eleven other Frenchmen, but flying British colors. The siege lasted until the 20th, when the enemy withdrew, having lost thirty-seven men. Boone had lost but two. He said afterwards, "We picked up 125 pounds of bullets, besides what stuck in the logs of our fort, which certainly is a great proof of their industry." On the 19th of August, 1782, Boone's second son fell in a battle with the Indians about forty miles from Lexington, Kentucky. "Two darling sons and a brother," said the pioneer, "have I lost by savage hands, which have also taken from me forty valuable horses

and abundance of cattle. Many dark and sleepless nights have I spent, separated from the cheerful society of men, scorched by the summer's sun and pinched by the winter's cold, an instrument ordained to settle the wilderness."

Boone, having lost his wife, resided alternately in Virginia and Kentucky until 1798, when he found himself dispossessed of his property in consequence of some imperfections in the title to the lands which he had settled. Indignant at this treatment by whites, the veteran hunter set out, rifle in hand, to win new lands. He crossed Mississippi, entered the territory of Missouri and settled on the Femme Osage river. In 1800 he discovered Boone's Lick, a resort of the buffalo, and visited the head waters of the Osage river. For more than twenty summers he continued to range the woods with his trusty rifle and faithful dog. At the age of eighty he again made a hunting trip with a white man and negro to the source of the Osage, trapping beaver and other game. He died at the residence of his son, Major Nathan Boone, on the 26th of September, 1822.

Daniel Boone, though fond of adventure and impatient of the restraints of thickly populated districts, was amiable and strictly honest. His ambition was to excel the Indian with his own weapon in his own mode of life.



THE second war of the United States with Great Britain was largely due to outrages on American commerce. England claiming the supremacy of the sea, assumed during her war with Napoleon the right to search neutral vessels not only for articles judged contraband, but for British seamen. In execution of this policy, English commanders had insulted the American flag and seized native-born Americans whom they impressed into the British service. "Free trade and sailors' rights" was the stirring cry which roused Congress at last to a declaration of war. Most of the glory of the contest was won on the sea, but some disasters occurred before the gallant naval officers learned to wrest victory from their formidable adversaries. One such disaster was rendered memorable by the dying words of the chivalrous Lawrence—"Don't give up the ship." Perry inscribed this order on his flag at the battle of Lake Erie, and it still finds an echo in the hearts of his countrymen.

James Lawrence was born at Burlington, New Jersey, October 1, 1781. He was the son of a lawyer and was educated at the high school of his native town. His desire for a naval career was shown at an early age, but not gratified till after the death of his father. When seventeen years old, he was appointed midshipman and made his first cruise in the West Indies. In 1802 he was commissioned as lieutenant. In the war with Tripoli Lawrence commanded a gunboat and was second in command in Decatur's bold exploit of destroy-

ing the captured frigate "Philadelphia" in Tripoli harbor in February, 1804. Five years were spent in war on the Barbary coast. In 1811, being promoted captain, Lawrence took command of the "Hornet," 18 guns, having already commanded several smaller vessels. After war with Great Britain was declared in 1812, Lawrence cruised off the coast of Brazil and captured the British sloop-of-war "Resolution," on which were found £5,000. Afterwards off Demerara he met the brig "Peacock." Both vessels manœuvred for the weather-gauge, but the "Hornet" had the advantage. When the "Peacock" attempted to wear, the "Hornet," running down on her quarter, poured in a heavy fire which compelled her surrender within fifteen minutes. So badly was she injured that she soon sank with several of her men. The "Hornet" had but one man killed and two wounded, while the "Peacock" lost her captain and one-third of her crew. Lawrence had somewhat heavier guns, but his victory was due to better seamanship and superior accuracy of fire. On his return to New York he was received with distinction, and Congress presented him with a gold medal.

Lawrence, being raised to the rank of post-captain, was intrusted with the command of the frigate "Chesapeake," 48 guns, then lying at Boston. Captain P. V. Broke, of the British frigate "Shannon," having an equal number of guns, appeared off the harbor and challenged an engagement. Lawrence had acted in the same manner while cruising off Brazil, and therefore felt compelled to accept. The engagement took place on June 1, 1813, about thirty-five miles off Boston. Early in the fight Lawrence was shot in the leg, but refused to leave the quarter-deck. After a few broadsides the anchor of the "Chesapeake" caught in one of the "Shannon's" port-holes, and a desperate hand-to-hand conflict ensued. Nearly every American officer was soon shot down, and Lawrence was mortally wounded in the stomach. As he was borne to the cockpit, he cried out to his men, "Don't give up the ship." He refused to take precedence in medical attention, saying, "No. Serve those who came before me. I can wait my turn." By this time Captain Broke, seeing that the men were flinching from their guns, led his boarders

on the "Chesapeake's" deck. The American crew could not be brought up to repel them. In spite of some desperate fighting, the "Chesapeake" was soon in possession of the British. In explanation of the result it is asserted that the "Chesapeake's" sailors were but newly shipped and imperfectly trained, while the "Shannon" was noted for excellent gunnery practice. Neither vessel was much injured, but the American loss was 146 while the British was but 85. Captain Broke, who had been severely wounded, was made a baronet for his victory. Both vessels were taken to Halifax, where Lawrence was buried with military honors. His remains were afterwards restored to the United States and buried in Trinity churchyard in New York City. While the loss of the "Chesapeake" was greatly deplored, the gallantry of her commander, sealed with his blood, atoned for his haste in accepting combat before his crew was thoroughly disciplined.

The Fight of the "Shannon" and the "Chesapeake."

In the forenoon of June 1, 1813, the "Shannon" appeared in Massachusetts Bay. The "Chesapeake" was then lying in President Roads, ready for sea; though some disaffection existed among the crew, on account of the prize-money of the last cruise, which was still unpaid. The ship had an unusual number of mercenaries in her; and among others was a boatswain's mate, a Portuguese, who was found to be particularly troublesome. Under the extraordinary circumstances in which the vessel was placed, it was thought prudent to temporize, and the people were addressed, and some promises were made to them, which apparently had the effect of putting them in a better humor.

At 12, meridian, the "Chesapeake" lifted her anchor, and stood out, with a pleasant breeze from the southward and westward. As the "Shannon" was then in plain sight, the ship was cleared for action, and the best appearances were assumed, although it is known that Captain Lawrence went into this engagement with strong reluctance on account of the peculiar state of his crew. [She had many landsmen, and all of her officers were new and inexperienced.]

The "Shannon" stood off under easy sail, when Captain Lawrence fired a gun about 4.30, which induced her to heave to, with her head to the southward and eastward. By this time the wind

had freshened, and at 5 the "Chesapeake" took in her royals and topgallant sails, and half an hour later, she hauled up her courses. The two ships were now about 30 miles from the light, the "Shannon" under single-reefed topsails and jib, and the "Chesapeake" under whole topsails and jib, coming down fast. As the "Shannon" was running with the wind a little free, there was an anxious moment on board of her during which it was uncertain on which side the "Chesapeake" was about to close, or whether she might be disposed to commence the action on her quarter. But Captain Lawrence chose to lay his enemy fairly alongside, yardarm and yardarm, and he luffed and ranged up abeam on the "Shannon's" starboard side. When the "Chesapeake's" foremast was in a line with the "Shannon's" mizzenmast, the latter ship discharged her cabin guns, and the others in succession, from aft forward. The "Chesapeake" did not fire until all her guns bore, when she delivered a very destructive broadside. For six or eight minutes the cannonading was fierce, and the best of the action, so far as the general effect of the fire was concerned, is said to have been with the American frigate, though it was much in favor of the enemy in its particular and accidental consequences. While passing the "Shannon's" broadside, the "Chesapeake" had her foretopsail tie and jib-sheet shot away. Her spanker-brails also were loosened and the sail blew out. These accidents occurring nearly at the same instant, they brought the ship up into the wind, when taken aback, she got sternway and fell aboard of the enemy, with her mizzen-rigging foul of the "Shannon's" fore-chains. By some accounts the fluke of an anchor on board the "Shannon" hooked in the rigging of the "Chesapeake." Whatever may have served to keep the ships together, it appears to be certain that the American frigate lay exposed to a raking fire from the enemy, who poured into her the contents of one or two carronades that nearly swept her upper deck. . . . . When Captain Lawrence (who had been wounded) perceived that the ships were likely to fall foul of each other, he directed the boarders to be called (but unfortunately this had to be done by verbal orders). . . . . At this critical moment Captain Lawrence fell with a ball through the body.

The upper deck was now left without an officer above the rank of a midshipman. It was the practice of the service, in that day, to keep the arms of the boarders on the quarter-deck and about the masts; and even when the boarders had been summoned . . . . they were without arms; for by this time the enemy was in possession of the "Chesapeake's" quarter-deck.

As soon as the ships were foul, Captain Broke passed forward in the "Shannon," and to use his own language, "seeing that the enemy were flinching from his guns," he gave the order to board. Finding that all their officers had fallen, and exposed to a raking fire, without the means of returning a shot, the men on the "Chesapeake's" quarter-deck had indeed left their guns. The marines had suffered severely, and having lost their officers, were undecided what to do, and the entire upper deck was left virtually without any defence.

When the enemy entered the ship from his fore-channels, it was with great caution and so slowly that twenty resolute men would have repulsed him. The boarders had not yet appeared from below, and meeting with no resistance, he began to move forward. This critical moment lost the ship, for the English, encouraged by the state of the "Chesapeake's" upper deck, now rushed forward in numbers and soon had entire command above board. The remaining officers appeared on deck and endeavored to make a rally, but it was altogether too late, for the boatswain's mate mentioned had removed the gratings of the berth-deck and had run below, followed by a great many men. Soon after the "Chesapeake's" colors were hauled down by the enemy, who got complete possession of the ship with very little resistance.

Captain Broke, in his official report of this action, observes that after he had boarded, "the enemy fought desperately, but in disorder." The first part of this statement is probably true as regards a few gallant individuals on the upper deck, but there was no regular resistance to the boarders of the "Shannon" at all. The men of the "Chesapeake" had not the means to resist, neither were they collected nor commanded in the mode in which they had been trained to act. The enemy fired down the hatches and killed and wounded a great many men in this manner, but it does not appear that their fire was returned. Although the English lost a few men when they boarded, it is understood that the slaughter was principally on the side of the Americans, as might be expected, after the assault was made.

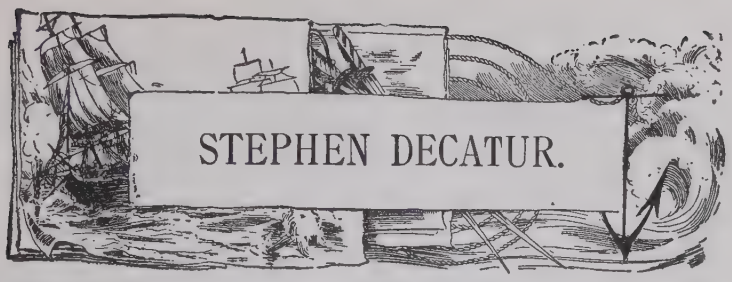
Few naval battles have been more sanguinary than this. It lasted altogether not more than fifteen minutes, yet both ships were charnel houses. The "Chesapeake" had forty-eight men killed and ninety-eight wounded, a large proportion of whom fell by the raking fire of the "Shannon," after the "Chesapeake" was taken aback, and by the fire of the boarders. The "Shannon" had twenty-three killed and 56 wounded, principally by the

"Chesapeake's broadsides." It was impossible for ships of that size to approach so near in tolerably smooth water and to fire with so much steadiness without committing great havoc.

Perhaps the capture of no single ship ever produced so much exultation on the side of the victors, or so much depression on that of the beaten party, as that of the "Chesapeake." The American nation had fallen into the error of their enemy, and had begun to imagine themselves invincible on the ocean, and this without any better reason than having been successful in a few detached combats, and its mortification was in proportion to the magnitude of its delusion; while England hailed the success of the "Shannon" as a proof that its ancient renown was about to be regained. It has always been a prevalent illusion among the people of Great Britain to believe themselves superior to most other nations in pure personal prowess, and the "Chesapeake" having been taken by boarding, this peculiar disposition was flattered with the impression that they had prevailed in a hand-to-hand conflict, and that their seamen had only to go on board the American ships in future in order to be triumphant. This error, in the end, lost them several vessels, for a more hazardous experiment cannot well be made than to attempt carrying a ship of any force by boarding before she has been virtually beaten with the guns. It is scarcely exceeding the truth to say that such a circumstance never occurred. In the ancient navies of Europe, in which men obtained commissions on account of their birth, and captains have been often known to allow their inferiors to give orders in the heat of a combat, anything may happen, for a ship without a commander is like a man without a soul; but no experienced seaman will ever expose his people unnecessarily in this manner against an enemy that he feels to be prepared to receive him.

In America reflection soon caused the mortification in a great measure to subside, as it was seen that the capture of the "Chesapeake" was owing to a concurrence of circumstances that was not likely again to happen. It was soon understood that the closeness and short duration of this combat were actually owing to their own officer, who brought his ship so near that the battle was necessarily soon decided, while its succeeding incidents were altogether the results of the chances of war. At the moment when the English boarded, the total loss of the "Shannon" in men is believed to have been at least equal to that of the "Chesapeake," and yet the former vessel was deprived of the services of

no important officer but the boatswain, while the "Chesapeake" had lost those of her captain, two of her lieutenants, master, marine officer and boatswain, including every one in any authority on the upper deck. These fortuitous events are as unconnected with any particular merit on the one side, as they are with any particular demerit on the other; and the feelings of the Americans gradually settled down into a sentiment of sincere respect for the high-spirited Lawrence, and of deep regret for his loss.—J. FENIMORE COOPER.



STEPHEN DECATUR.

NO name was more conspicuous for gallantry in the annals of the old American navy than that of Stephen Decatur. He was of Huguenot descent, his grandfather, a native of famous Rochelle, having emigrated to America on the revocation of the Edict of Nantes. An officer in the French navy, he devoted himself to maritime pursuits in his new home. His son, Stephen, born at Newport in 1751, removed to Philadelphia, and became captain of a merchantman at an early age. During the Revolutionary war he commanded privateers, and captured many British vessels. In the troubles with France in 1798 he was made a post-captain and cruised in the West Indies, where he captured French privateers. For a time a squadron of thirteen vessels was under his command. Discharged from the service under the peace establishment of 1801, Captain Decatur engaged in business at Philadelphia, and died in 1808.

Honorable as had been the career of the father, its glory was eclipsed by that of his son, bearing the same name. Stephen Decatur the younger was born at Sinnepuxent, Maryland, on the 5th of January, 1779. The family resided in Philadelphia, but when the British occupied that city had taken refuge in Maryland. At an early age he accompanied his father to sea, and at nineteen he was made a midshipman under Commodore Barry on the frigate "United States." His handsome appearance, graceful manners, and chivalrous temper won him favor from all classes. His first cruises were in the West Indies, where French privateers were preying on American commerce. His good judgment in matters of seamanship was frequently displayed. Thus when the frigate "United States" disabled a French privateer which had tried

to escape, Decatur was sent in a boat to take possession. The privateer was sinking, and the crew of sixty men, stripped of clothing, begged to be taken in the boat. This was manifestly impracticable. Decatur therefore ordered the French captain to put his helm up and run down to the frigate. The vessel sank within fifty yards of the "United States," but every man of the crew was saved. On another occasion when a midshipman fell overboard, Decatur sprang from the mizzen-chains, seized the youth and held him above the water until the boats reached them. In 1799 Decatur was commissioned lieutenant, and continued in the "United States" until she was laid up for repairs after her return from France. Under President Jefferson's economical administration, the navy in 1801 was reduced to six ships, and two-thirds of the officers were discharged. The elder Decatur was among these, but his sons Stephen and James were selected to remain. At this time the United States, as well as most of the European governments, were paying yearly tribute to the Barbary States that their commerce might not be molested by the Barbary pirates. As further acknowledgment of the merciful kindness of these Turks, the United States gave the Dey of Algiers a fine frigate, and paid handsome sums of money to the Bey of Tunis and the Pacha of Tripoli. But the latter, being offended because he did not get more, declared war and seized American vessels. Commodore Richard Dale was therefore sent to the Mediterranean with four vessels in May, 1801. In this squadron Decatur was first lieutenant on the "Essex," under Captain William Bainbridge. After effectually protecting American commerce at Tripoli, the "Essex" returned to New York in July, 1802. Decatur sailed again for the Mediterranean in the frigate "New York," Captain James Barron. At Malta he acted as second in a duel in which an English officer was killed, and as the governor demanded the surrender of all concerned to the civil authorities, it was deemed prudent for Decatur to return to the United States. In November, 1803, he took command of a brig in the same squadron, now under Commodore Edward Preble. The frigate "Philadelphia," striking a reef off Tripoli, was captured by the enemy and taken into that port. Preble then sailed thither,

taking Decatur with him. The latter, having captured a ketch and changed its name to the "Intrepid," used it to destroy the "Philadelphia," then moored under the guns of Tripoli. With a picked crew, he sailed into the harbor by night on February 16, 1804, boarded and set fire to the frigate. Decatur and his crew escaped in the "Intrepid," having had but one man slightly wounded, though 141 guns rained shot upon them. The enemy's loss was never ascertained precisely. Admiral Nelson pronounced this exploit "the most daring act of the age." For it Decatur was promoted captain, and received a sword from Congress, while each of the officers and crew received two months' pay. In subsequent attacks on Tripoli Decatur bore a distinguished part. On August 3d, he commanded three gunboats in an attack upon a flotilla of gunboats protected by shore batteries. When his brother James was treacherously killed, Stephen slew the Tripolitan commanding officer after a desperate struggle. In the two boats captured by Decatur the loss was 52 killed and wounded, while the total American loss was but 14. During the rest of the war Captain Decatur had command of a frigate. Peace was concluded in June, 1805, and Decatur returned home to be enthusiastically welcomed by his countrymen.

In 1808 Decatur served on the court-martial which tried Commodore Barron for surrendering the "Chesapeake" to the British man-of-war "Leopard." He was afterwards Commodore of the Southern Station. When the war with Great Britain was declared in 1812, Commodore Decatur had command of the frigate "United States," 44 guns. Encountering the British frigate "Macedonian," 49 guns, on October 25th, he captured her after an action of an hour and a half. The "Macedonian" being to windward could choose her distance, and the action for the most part was at long range. Yet she was almost completely dismasted, and 100 round shot struck her hull. Of her 300 men 104 were killed or wounded. The "United States" had suffered somewhat aloft, but her hull was very slightly injured, and she had but 12 men killed or wounded. The "Macedonian" was taken to New York, jury-masts having been rigged. In May, 1813, Decatur, attempting to leave New York harbor, which was blockaded off Sandy

Hook, sailed through Long Island Sound. A superior British force intercepted him and drove him into New London harbor, where he remained closely blockaded for a year. He was then transferred to the command of a squadron of four vessels at New York, his flag-ship being the "President," 44 guns. Still he was blockaded and unable to get to sea. In January, 1815, he sailed at midnight, and the "President" was injured in passing over the bar. She was pursued and brought to action by four British frigates on the next day. A running fight took place which lasted eight hours, during which the British "Endymion" was disabled. The "President" was surrounded by the other three frigates, and one of them, the "Pomona," obtaining a position on her weather-bow, fired a broadside into her. Decatur felt obliged to surrender. The "President's" loss had been severe, one-fourth of her crew being killed or wounded. Both she and the "Endymion" were carried into Bermuda. Decatur was soon paroled, and on his return to the United States was honorably acquitted by a court of inquiry for the loss of his ship.

While the war with Great Britain was raging, the Dey of Algiers began to capture American merchant vessels. When peace was restored in 1815, the United States determined to punish his violation of the treaty. Two squadrons were fitted out, one under Decatur, the other under Bainbridge. Decatur soon after arriving in the Mediterranean captured the flag-ship of the Algerine admiral, who had fought valiantly. After other captures he proceeded to threaten Algiers on June 28th, and compelled a peace which stipulated that all Christian captives should be released, and that the United States should pay no more tribute. Decatur proceeded to Tunis and exacted indemnity for its similar violations of treaty. Next he visited Tripoli in the same way and compelled the release of all Christian captives. Thus American valor and determination brought to an end the shameful submission of European nations for centuries to the outrageous exactions of the petty Barbary States. Decatur received the thanks of all Europe as well as America for his important service to civilization.

In January, 1816, Decatur arrived in Washington, having been appointed navy commissioner with Commodores Rodgers

and Porter. While acting in this capacity he made incidentally severe censure of Commodore Barron for his conduct in the Chesapeake affair of 1808. When Barron complained, Decatur refused to retract the remarks, which were not intended to be insulting. After some correspondence Barron challenged Decatur, and the two met at Bladensburg on March 22, 1820. Both were wounded at the first fire, Barron severely, and Decatur mortally, dying that night. His death was universally lamented by his countrymen.

Recapture of the Frigate "Philadelphia."

The "Philadelphia" lay not quite a mile within the entrance, riding to the wind, and abreast of the town. Her foremast which had been cut away while she was on the reef, had not yet been replaced, her main and mizzen top-masts were housed, and her lower yards were on the gunwales. Her lower standing rigging, however, was in its place, and, as was shortly afterward ascertained, her guns were loaded and shotted. Just within her lay two corsairs, with a few gun-boats and a galley.

It was a mild evening for the season, and the sea and bay were smooth as in summer; as unlike as possible to the same place a few days previously, when the two vessels had been driven from the enterprise by a tempest. Perceiving that he was likely to get in too soon, when about five miles from the rocks, Mr. Decatur ordered buckets and other drags to be towed astern, in orden to lessen the way of the ketch without shortening sail, as the latter expedient would have been seen from the port, and must have awakened suspicion. In the meantime the wind gradually fell, until it became so light as to leave the ketch but about two knots way on her, when the drags were removed.

About ten o'clock the "Intrepid" reached the eastern entrance of the bay, or the passage between the rocks and the shoal. The wind was nearly east, and, as she steered directly for the frigate, it was well abaft the beam. There was a young moon, and as these bold adventurers were slowly advancing into a hostile port, all around them was tranquil and apparently without distrust. For nearly an hour they were stealing slowly along, the air gradually failing, until their motion became scarcely perceptible.

Most of the officers and men of the ketch had been ordered to lie on the deck, where they were concealed by low bulwarks, or weather-boards, and by the different objects that belong to a ves-

sel. As it is the practice of those seas to carry a number of men even in the smallest craft, the appearance of ten or twelve would excite no alarm, and this number was visible. The commanding officer himself stood near the pilot, Mr. Catalano, who was to act as interpreter. The quartermaster at the helm was ordered to stand directly for the frigate's bow, it being the intention to lay the ship aboard in that place, as the mode of attack which would least expose the assailants to her fire.

The "Intrepid" was still at a considerable distance from the "Philadelphia" when the latter hailed. The pilot answered that the ketch belonged to Malta, and was on a trading voyage; that she had been nearly wrecked, and had lost her anchors in the late gale, and that her commander wished to ride by the frigate during the night. This conversation lasted some time, Mr. Decatur instructing the pilot to tell the frigate's people with what he was laden, in order to amuse them; and the "Intrepid" gradually drew nearer, until there was every prospect of her running foul of the "Philadelphia" in a minute or two, and at the very spot contemplated.

But the wind suddenly shifted and took the ketch aback. The instant the southerly puff struck her, her head fell off, and she got a stern-board, the ship at the same moment tending to the new current of air. The effect of this unexpected change was to bring the ketch directly under the frigate's broadside at the distance of about forty yards, where she lay perfectly becalmed, or drifting slowly astern, exposed to nearly every one of the "Philadelphia's" larboard guns.

Not the smallest suspicion appears to have been yet excited on board the frigate, though several of her people were looking over the rails; and, notwithstanding the moonlight, so completely were the Turks deceived, that they lowered a boat and sent it with a fast. Some of the ketch's men, in the meantime had got into her boat, and had run a line to the frigate's forechains. As they returned they met the frigate's boat, took the fast it brought, which came from the after-part of the ship, and passed it into their own vessel. These fasts were put into the hands of the men as they lay on the ketch's deck, and they began cautiously to breast the "Intrepid" alongside of the "Philadelphia," without rising.

As soon as the latter got near enough to the ship the Turks discovered her anchors, and they sternly ordered the ketch to keep off, as she had deceived them, preparing, at the same time,

to cut the fasts. All this passed in a moment, when the cry of "Amerikanos!" was heard in the ship. The people of the "Intrepid," by a strong pull, brought their vessel alongside of the frigate, where she was secured, quick as thought. Up to this moment not a whisper had betrayed the presence of the men concealed. The instructions had been positive to keep quiet until commanded to show themselves, and no precipitation, even in that trying moment, deranged the plan.

Lieutenant-Commander Decatur was standing ready for a spring, with Messrs. Laws and Morris quite near him. As soon as close enough he jumped at the frigate's chain-plates, and, while clinging to the ship himself, he gave the order to board. The two midshipmen were at his side, and all the officers and men of the "Intrepid" arose and followed. The three gentlemen named were in the chains together, and Lieutenant-commander Decatur and Mr. Morris sprang at the rail above them, while Mr. Laws dashed at a port. To the latter would have belonged the honor of having been first in this gallant assault; but wearing a boarding-belt, his pistols were caught between the gun and the side of the port. Mr. Decatur's foot slipped in springing, and Mr. Charles Morris first stood upon the quarter-deck of the "Philadelphia." In an instant Lieutenant-commander Decatur and Mr. Laws were at his side, while heads and bodies appeared coming over the rail, and through the ports, in all directions.

The surprise seems to have been as perfect as the assault was rapid and earnest. Most of the Turks on deck crowded forward, and all ran over to the starboard side as their enemies poured in on the larboard. A few were aft, but as soon as charged they leaped into the sea. Indeed, the constant plunges into the water gave the assailants the assurance that their enemies were fast lessening in numbers by flight. It took but a minute or two to clear the spar-deck, though there was more of a struggle below. Still, so admirably managed was the attack, and so complete the surprise, that the resistance was but trifling. In less than ten minutes Mr. Decatur was on the quarter-deck again, in undisturbed possession of his prize.

There can be no doubt that this gallant officer now felt bitter regrets that it was not in his power to bring away the ship he had so nobly recovered. Not only were his orders on this point peremptory, however, but the frigate had not a sail bent, nor a yard crossed, and she wanted her foremast. It was next to im-

possible, therefore, to remove her, and the command was given to pass up the combustibles from the ketch.

The duty of setting fire to the prize appears to have been executed with as much promptitude and order as every other part of the service. The officers distributed themselves agreeably to the previous instructions, and the men soon appeared with the necessary means. Each party acted by itself, and as it got ready. So rapid were they all in their movements, that the men with combustibles had scarcely time to get as low as the cock-pit and after storerooms before the fires were lighted over their heads. When the officer entrusted with the duty last-mentioned had got through, he found the after-hatches filled with smoke from the fire in the wardroom and steerage, and he was obliged to make his escape by the forward ladder.

The Americans were in the ship from twenty to twenty-five minutes, and they were literally driven out of her by the flames. The vessel had got to be so dry in that low latitude that she burnt like pine, and the combustibles had been as judiciously prepared as they were steadily used. The last party up were the people who had been in the store-rooms, and when they had reached the deck they found most of their companions in the "Intrepid." Joining them, and ascertaining that all was ready, the order was given to cast off. Notwithstanding the daring character of the enterprise in general, Mr. Decatur and his party now ran the greatest risks they had incurred that night.

So fierce had the conflagration already become that the flames began to pour out of the ports, and the head-fast having been cast off, the ketch fell astern, with her jigger flapping against the quarter-gallery and her boom foul. The fire showed itself in the window at this critical moment, and beneath was all the ammunition of the party, covered with a tarpaulin. To increase the risk, the stern-fast was jammed. By using swords, however (for there was not time to look for an axe), the hawser was cut and the "Intrepid" was extricated from the most imminent danger by a vigorous shove. As she swung clear of the frigate, the flames reached the rigging, up which they went hissing like a rocket, the tar having oozed from the ropes, which had been saturated with that inflammable matter. Matches could not have been kindled with greater quickness.

The sweeps were now manned. Up to this moment everything had been done earnestly, though without noise; but as soon as they felt that they had command of their ketch again,

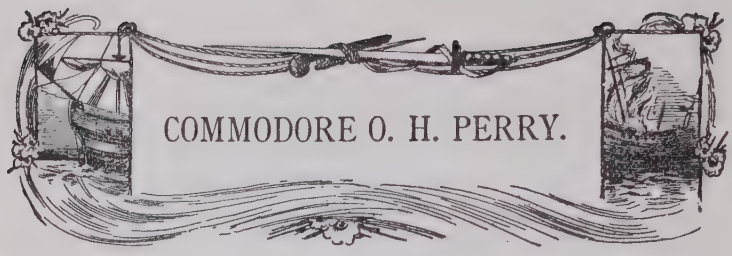
and by two or three vigorous strokes had sent her away from the frigate, the people of the "Intrepid" ceased rowing, and as one man they gave three cheers for victory. This appeared to rouse the Turks from their stupor, for the cry had hardly ended when the batteries, the two corsairs and the galley poured in their fire. The men laid hold of their sweeps again, of which the "Intrepid" had eight of a side and, favored by a light air, they went merrily down the harbor.

The spectacle that followed is described as having been both beautiful and sublime. The entire bay was illuminated by the conflagration, the roar of the cannon was constant and Tripoli was in a clamor. The appearance of the ship was, in the highest degree, magnificent, and to add to the effect, as her guns heated, they began to go off. Owing to the shift of the wind and the position into which she had tended, she, in some measure, returned the enemy's fire, as one of her own broadsides was discharged in the direction of the town and the other toward Fort English. The most singular effect of this conflagration was on board the ship, for the flames having run up the rigging and masts, collected under the tops and fell over, giving the whole the appearance of glowing columns and fiery capitals.

Under ordinary circumstances, the situation of the ketch would still have been thought sufficiently perilous; but after the exploit they had just performed, her people, elated with success, regarded all that was now passing as a triumphant spectacle. The shot constantly cast the spray around them or were whistling over their heads; but the only sensation they produced was by calling attention to the brilliant *jets d'eau* that they occasioned as they bounded along the water. Only one struck the "Intrepid," although she was within half a mile of many of the heaviest guns for some time, but that passed through her top-gallant sail.

With sixteen sweeps and eighty men elated with success, Mr. Decatur was enabled to drive the little "Intrepid" ahead with a velocity that rendered towing useless. Near the harbor's mouth he met the "Siren's" boats, sent to cover his retreat; but their services were scarcely necessary. As soon as the ketch was out of danger he got into one and pulled aboard the brig to report to Lieutenant-commander Stewart the result of his undertaking.

The success of this gallant exploit laid the foundation of the name which Mr. Decatur subsequently acquired in the navy. The country applauded the feat generally, and the commanding officer was raised to the station of captain.



WHEN Perry, the victor of the battle of Lake Erie, died of disease on his thirty-fourth birthday, the gallant Decatur declared that the American navy had lost its brightest ornament. His courage was dauntless, his patriotism intense, his professional skill eminent, his career glorious, his example inspiring.

Oliver Hazard Perry was born at South Kingston, Rhode Island, on August 23, 1785. He was descended from Edmund Perry, a Quaker, who had emigrated from England in 1650, and settled at Sandwich, Massachusetts. The family afterwards settled in Rhode Island. Christopher Raymond, fifth in descent from Edmund, served in privateers during the Revolutionary War and was twice captured. During his imprisonment at Newry, Ireland, he first met Sarah Alexander, who was descended from Scotch Covenanters, and whom he married after her arrival in Philadelphia. Their five sons all became officers in the United States Navy, and two of their daughters were married to navy officers. All had been carefully trained by their highly intellectual and well-educated mother, while the father pursued his calling as commander of merchant vessels. Oliver, the eldest, was early noted for physical beauty and sweetness of disposition. He was an apt pupil in the sciences relating to navigation. In 1798 the United States determined to increase the navy in order to resist the attacks of French cruisers on American merchant vessels. Captain Perry received authority to construct a ship, the "General Greene," at Warren, R. I. When he was commissioned as post-captain, Oliver requested to be allowed to accompany him and was accordingly made midshipman in April, 1799. His first cruise was to the West Indies, where

the "Greene" was employed in convoying American vessels. Captain Perry also took part in the troubles of San Domingo, which had affected American commerce, and his son early gained a great variety of naval experience. In 1801 young Perry went as midshipman on the frigate "John Adams," Captain Hugh G. Campbell, to take part in the war with Tripoli. On his seventeenth birthday he was made acting lieutenant. After a year of blockading and cruising the "Adams" returned to Newport in November, 1803. When Congress ordered additional vessels to the Mediterranean squadron, Perry sailed under Captain Campbell in the "Constellation" in 1804. He was afterwards transferred to the "Essex," Commodore Rodgers, and returned to the United States in October, 1806.

During the great Napoleonic wars, President Jefferson thought it enough to defend the American coast by gun-boats, leaving the merchant vessels with little protection on the high seas. Perry, who was commissioned lieutenant in 1807, had charge of the construction of seventeen gun-boats at Newport and commanded this flotilla for the defence of New York harbor. In 1809 he took command of the schooner "Revenge," 14 guns, which cruised off the southern coast. His courage was repeatedly shown in resisting the arrogance of British commanders whom he met and in recovering an American vessel which had been illegally seized. His crew was drilled to the highest efficiency in gun practice and firing. In January, 1811, while he was conducting a survey of the Rhode Island coast, the "Revenge" was wrecked, but the court of inquiry exonerated Perry of any blame. In the following May he was married to Miss Elizabeth Champlin Mason.

On the declaration of war with Great Britain in June, 1812, Perry was made master-commandant and placed in charge of a flotilla of twelve gun-boats at Newport. His total force was but 200 men. These he trained most thoroughly in all details pertaining to active service. He collected statistics as to the ship-building resources of Rhode Island; but the government, averse to war expenditure, paid little heed to his efforts. Though he applied repeatedly for a sea command, he was disappointed and felt himself unjustly treated. He therefore

offered his services to Commodore Isaac Chauncey on the Lakes. Chauncey procured for him the desired order, which Perry received on February 17, 1813. His first destination was Sackett's Harbor, New York, but his chief work was to be done on Lake Erie, after a fleet was built. By traveling mostly in sleighs, he reached the village of Presque Isle (now Erie) on March 27th. Two shipwrights were already there, waiting for the arrival of fifty carpenters from Philadelphia. The keels of two 20-gun brigs had been laid and three gun-boats were begun. The squadron was to be built from the virgin forest. In the thinly settled country with slight accommodations for transportation, the task of building and equipping the fleet was truly arduous. After the gun-boats were launched, word was brought that an attack was to be made on Fort George. In spite of serious difficulties and dangers, the adventurous Perry hastened back to aid in the affair. He was placed in command of 500 marines, had charge of the debarkation of the troops and rendered efficient service in the capture of the fort. The result of this capture was the British evacuation of the frontier along the Niagara river. Five small vessels which had been detained at Black Rock were now conducted by Perry to Erie, in spite of a superior British force which pursued him. Many of his best men had been detained by Commodore Chauncey. Two-thirds of those at Erie were ill. General W. H. Harrison was then trying to regain the territory of Michigan. The fate of his army largely depended on Perry's squadron. Urgent orders were sent from Washington, but the necessary men were wanting until he recruited a force of 300 landsmen. One of his brigs he named the "Lawrence," in memory of the brave Captain Lawrence, the other the "Niagara." The armament of each was two long 12-pounders, and eighteen 32-pounder carronades. The latter fired a scattering charge at low velocity, and were effective only at short range. Their object was to dismantle the enemy's vessel, cutting away masts, sails and rigging. The eight small vessels of Perry's fleet had altogether fifteen guns, making a total of 55 guns. His constant drilling made his men passable artillerists. On the British side, Commodore Robert H. Barclay, who had fought under

Nelson at Trafalgar, surmounted almost equal difficulties in forming his fleet. It consisted of the "Detroit," 19 guns; "Queen Charlotte," 17; "Lady Prevost," 13; "Hunter," 10; "Little Belt," 3; and "Chippeway," one gun; making a total of 63 guns, of which 35 were long range guns.

On August 12, Perry, taking advantage of a brief absence of the British squadron which had blockaded him, succeeded in getting his fleet out of port. The larger vessels had to be lifted on "camels" to pass the bar. Perry declared to his officers his intention to bring the enemy to close quarters, and showed a large blue flag, bearing in white letters the last injunction of Captain Lawrence, "Don't give up the ship." The hoisting of this flag on the "Lawrence" was to be the signal to commence action. At sunrise on September 15th, he moved out from Put-in Bay with all his squadron. The wind was unsteady, and some hours were spent in trying to sail around the Bass Islands. The British fleet hove to and formed in line of battle, while the Americans were still some miles off. At eleven A.M. the fleets were about a mile and a half apart when the bugle sounded from the "Detroit," the long guns opened fire, and the British cheered along the whole line. They expected an easy victory. By noon the battle fairly began, and the "Lawrence" suffered severely from the concentrated fire of the "Detroit" and two smaller vessels. The "Niagara" kept at such a distance that the "Queen Charlotte," which it had been ordered to attack, joined in the assault on the "Lawrence." After the contest had lasted two hours, the condition of the "Lawrence" was desperate; she had been reduced to a hulk; all her guns but one were dismounted; of her crew of 100, only 18 remained uninjured. Yet Perry continued to work his single gun until it also was disabled. Then turning the command of the vessel over to Lieutenant Yarnell he ordered a boat to convey him to the "Niagara," half a mile off. In its perilous passage his boat, in which he kept his battle-flag, was a target for the British guns, but it safely reached its destination. Yarnell, to save the wounded in his charge, hauled down his flag. The British felt that the victory was theirs and gave renewed cheers.

But Perry, now taking command of the "Niagara," sent its captain to order up the gun-boats, while he bore down on the "Detroit." Just as he reached that vessel her rigging became entangled with that of the "Queen Charlotte," and the "Niagara" poured a destructive fire of grape and canister into both vessels. The smaller vessels of Perry's squadron having come up, used their guns with such precision that the British were compelled to yield. The "Queen Charlotte" struck first, then the "Detroit," the "Hunter," the "Lady Prevost." Commodore Barclay and many of his officers were wounded. Their total loss was 41 killed and 94 wounded. The American loss was 27 killed and 96 wounded. Perry announced his victory to General Harrison in the famous despatch: "We have met the enemy and they are ours—two ships, two brigs, one schooner, and one sloop." To the Secretary of the Navy he sent a more formal message, saying that it had "pleased the Almighty to give to the arms of the United States a signal victory." For the first time in the history of the British navy an entire squadron had been surrendered. The victorious commander was but twenty-seven years of age. He assisted in regaining possession of Detroit, and in the battle of the Thames. At the close of the operations of 1813 Perry gave up his command. He had been hampered and vexed by the jealousy of officials in Washington. He was promoted to the rank of captain, and received a gold medal from Congress.

Captain Perry in 1814 was appointed to the command of the frigate "Java," then building at Baltimore, but was prevented from getting to sea by the British blockade of the Chesapeake. He assisted, however, in the defence of Baltimore. In the next year he sailed to the Mediterranean in the "Java." On his return he was forced into a duel by Captain J. D. Elliott, whose cowardly conduct in the "Niagara" Perry had ignored at the time, but could not altogether forget. In March, 1819, Perry commanded a squadron which cruised along the northern coast of South America. After sailing up the Orinoco River he was attacked with yellow fever, and died at Port Spain, Island of Trinidad, on August 23, 1819. His remains were removed to Newport in 1826. Several statues and

monuments have been erected to his memory. His fame has been highly cherished by all Americans.

The Battle of Lake Erie.

(September 10, 1813.)

At sunrise on the morning of the 10th of September, the British squadron was discovered from the masthead of the Lawrence, on the northwestern board, standing towards Put-in Bay, in which Perry's squadron was lying. Barclay's object was evidently attack. Perry ordered the signal made, "Get under way!" In a few minutes the whole squadron was under sail, beating out of the harbor against a light breeze from south-west, and with the boats ahead to tow. . . .

At 10 o'clock the enemy, having lost all hope of obtaining the weather-gauge by manœuvring, and observing our squadron coming out, hove to in line of battle on the larboard tack, with the heads of his vessels to the southward and westward. The wind continued light from south-east, enabling the vessels to advance at the rate of near three knots an hour; the weather was serene, and the lake perfectly still. There had been a slight rain in the morning; but, with the shift of wind, the clouds had blown away, and the day assumed all the splendor of our early autumn. The British vessels were freshly painted and in high condition; being hove to in close order, with the morning sun shining upon their broadsides, and their red ensigns gently unfolding to the breeze, they made a very gallant appearance as our squadron bore down to engage them, with the wind on the larboard quarter. It was now discovered that Barclay had formed his line with the "Chippeway," of one long 18-pounder on a pivot, in the van; the "Detroit," of 19 guns, second in the line; the "Hunter," of 10 guns, third; the "Queen Charlotte," of 17 guns, fourth; the "Lady Prevost," of 13 guns, fifth; and the "Little Belt," of 3 guns, sixth.

Captain Perry now remodeled his line of battle, so as to bring his heaviest vessels opposite to their designated antagonists. Claiming for himself the most formidable antagonist, he passed ahead of the "Niagara" so as to encounter the "Detroit," and stationed the "Scorpion," of two long guns, ahead, and the "Ariel," of four short twelves, on his weather bow, where with her light battery, and having, like the other small vessels, no bulwarks, she might be partially under cover. The "Caledonia,"

of three long twenty-fours, came next, to encounter the "Hunter;" the "Niagara" next, so as to be opposite her designated antagonist, the "Queen Charlotte," and the "Somers," of two long thirty-twos, the "Porcupine," of one long thirty-two, "Tigress," of one long twenty-four, and "Trippe," of one long thirty-two, in succession towards the rear, to encounter the "Lady Prevost" and "Little Belt." The line being formed, Perry bore up for the enemy, distant about six miles. He now produced the lettered burgee which, at the last assembly of his commanders to receive their instructions, he had exhibited as the concerted signal for battle. Having unfurled it, he mounted on a gun-slide, and, calling his crew about him, thus briefly addressed them: "My brave lads! this flag contains the last words of Captain Lawrence! Shall I hoist it?" "Ay! ay! sir!" resounded from every voice in the ship, and the flag was briskly swayed to the main royal masthead of the "Lawrence." The encouragement of these few brief words, and, still more, the mild and cheerful smile with which they were uttered; the habitual expression of his countenance, which gave such a winning fascination to his manners, imparted a rare spirit and alacrity to the crew; they responded to their young and beloved commander's appeal with three hearty and enthusiastic cheers, which, as the battle-flag unfolded and became visible to the crews of the other vessels, were repeated enthusiastically throughout the line. In this moment of heroic excitement, all the sick that were capable of motion came on deck to offer their feeble services in defence of their country.

A dead silence of an hour and a half succeeded, during which our squadron continued slowly to approach the enemy, steering for the head of his line on a course forming about half a right angle with it, the headmost vessels under easy sail, the others with everything set. Every preparation for battle had been long since made.

The suspense, though long, had its end. Suddenly a bugle was heard to sound on board the "Detroit," the signal for loud and concerted cheers throughout the British squadron. Soon after, being a quarter before noon, the enemy's flag-ship "Detroit," then distant about a mile and a half, commenced the action by firing a single shot at the "Lawrence," which did not take effect. Signal was now made for each vessel to engage her opponent, as designated in previous orders. At this time the "Ariel," "Scorpion," "Lawrence," "Caledonia," and "Nia-

gara" were all in their respective stations, distant from each other about a half a cable's length, the other vessels, not sailing quite so well, were a little out of their stations astern.

The second shot from a long gun of the "Detroit," five minutes later than the first, took effect on the "Lawrence" as she fanned down towards the enemy, passing through both bulwarks, when fire was also opened from the long guns of all the British squadron, which, as they lay drawn up in line of battle, did not materially differ in distance from the "Lawrence" and the two schooners on her weather bow. At five minutes before noon, the "Lawrence," beginning to suffer considerably from the enemy's fire, returned it from her long twelve pounder, when the schooners on the weather bow, being ordered by trumpet to commence the action, and the "Caledonia" and "Niagara" astern, likewise opened their fire with their long guns. The sternmost vessels soon after opened also, but at too great a distance to do much injury.

Owing to the superiority of the enemy in long guns—the entire armament of the "Detroit," with the exception of two carronades, being of this description—this cannonade was greatly to the disadvantage of the "Lawrence," against which the British fire was chiefly directed. In order to hasten the moment when his carronades would take effect, and enable him to return more fully the fire of the enemy, Perry now made all sail again, and ordered the word to be passed by trumpet for the vessels astern to close up and take their stations. The order was responded to and transmitted along the line by Captain Elliott, of the "Niagara, whose vessel was stationed next but one astern of the "Lawrence."

Meantime, the "Lawrence" fanned slowly down towards the enemy, suffering terribly. At noon, supposing himself within range of the carronades, Perry luffed up and fired the first division on the starboard side. Discovering that his shot did not tell, he bore away again, and continued steadily to approach the enemy until a quarter past noon, when he opened his whole starboard broadside, and still continued to approach until within about three hundred and fifty yards, when he hauled up on a course parallel to that of the enemy, and opened a rapid and most destructive fire on the "Detroit." So steady had been the approach of the "Lawrence" in bearing down, and so unwavering the purpose of her commander, that the enemy had apprehended an intention to board. Captain Perry's only object had been to get the enemy within effective reach of his carronades, who

hitherto had derived great advantage from his superiority in long guns; and a half hour of almost unresisted cannonade upon the "Lawrence" from twenty long guns which the British squadron showed on one side in battery, caused great carnage and destruction on board of her. Nevertheless, the action was now commenced from her with spirit and effect; and, notwithstanding the overpowering odds with which she was assailed, the whole of the enemy, amounting, in all, to thirty-four guns, being almost entirely directed against her, she continued to assail the enemy with steady and unwavering effort. In this unequal contest she was nobly sustained by the "Scorpion" and "Ariel" on her weather bow, which, being but slightly noticed by the enemy, or injured by his shot, were enabled to direct their fire upon him with sure aim and without interruption. The commander of the "Caledonia," animated by the same gallant spirit and sense of duty, followed the "Lawrence" into close action, and closed with her antagonist, the "Hunter;" but the "Niagara," which, when the battle began, had been within hail of the "Lawrence," did not follow her down towards the enemy's line so as to encounter her antagonist, the "Queen Charlotte." She had not made sail when the "Lawrence" did, but got embarrassed with the "Caledonia," instead of passing astern and to leeward of her to close with the "Queen Charlotte." Captain Elliott sheered to windward, and by brailing up his jib and backing his maintopsail, balanced the efforts of his sails so as to keep his vessel stationary and prevent her approaching the enemy. The "Niagara" did not, therefore, approach the enemy's line near enough to use her carronades, but remained at long shots, firing only her long twelve pounder, doing little injury, and receiving less from casual shots aimed at the "Lawrence" and "Caledonia," of which she was partially under cover.

At half-past twelve the "Queen Charlotte," finding that she could not, with her light guns, engage her expected antagonist, the "Niagara," on account of her distance off, filled her main topsail, and, passing the "Hunter," closed up astern of the "Detroit" and opened her fire at closer quarters upon the "Lawrence." In this unequal contest the "Lawrence" continued to struggle desperately against such overpowering numbers. The first division of the starboard guns was directed against the "Detroit," and the second against the "Queen Charlotte," with an occasional shot from her after-gun at the "Hunter," which lay on her quarter, and with which the "Caledonia" continued to sus-

tain a hot though unequal engagement. The "Scorpion" and "Ariel," from their stations on the weather bow of the "Lawrence," made every effort that their inconsiderable force allowed. The "Niagara" had taken a station, as we have seen, which prevented her from firing, except with her long gun, on the sternmost of the enemy's vessels. The small vessels at the rear of our own line were too remote to do more than keep up a distant cannonade with the nearest vessels of the enemy.

Overwhelming as was the superiority of the force directed against the "Lawrence," being in the ratio of thirty-four guns to her ten in battery, she continued, with the aid of the "Scorpion," "Ariel" and "Caledonia," to sustain the contest for more than two hours, her fire being kept up with uninterrupted spirit, so long as her guns continued mounted and in order. Never was the advantage of thorough training at the guns more exemplified than in the case of the "Lawrence." By this time, however, her rigging had been much shot away and was hanging down or towing overboard, sails torn to pieces, spars wounded and falling upon deck, braces and bow-lines cut, so as to render it impossible to trim the yards or keep the vessel under control. Such was the condition of the vessel aloft; on deck the destruction was even more terrible. One by one the guns were dismounted, until only one remained that could be fired; the bulwarks were so entirely beaten in that the enemy's round shot passed completely through.

At length, about half-past two, when the last gun of the "Lawrence" had become disabled and unfit for further use—when, of all his crew, Captain Perry could only find throughout his vessel eighteen persons, besides his little brother and himself, undisabled by wounds—it became evident to him that he must have recourse to other means within his command in order to win the battle. He remarked that the "Niagara" did not appear to be much injured, and that the American flag should not be hauled down from over his head on that day. Giving Mr. Yarnall command of the "Lawrence," Perry stepped down the larboard gangway into his boat, telling his officers, as he shoved off, with the prophetic confidence of a hero conscious of his powers, "If a victory is to be gained, I'll gain it!" He went off in gallant style and full of ardor from the "Lawrence," standing erect in his boat, and urging his crew to give way cheerily. The enemy, observing this movement, quickly penetrated his design, and apprehending the consequences of the "Niagara," then entirely fresh, passing under the immediate command of the superior officer, who had

fought the "Lawrence" with such skill and obstinacy against the whole British squadron for more than two hours and a half, they immediately directed a fire of great guns and musketry at his boat and exerted all their energies to destroy it. With all the exertions of the boat's crew, nearly fifteen minutes were passed in reaching the "Niagara."

Perry's first order on board the "Niagara" was to back the main topsail and stop her from running out of the action; his next, to brail up the main trysail, put the helm up and bear down before the wind with squared yards, for the enemy, altering the course from that which Captain Elliott had been steering a whole right angle; at the same time he set top-gallant sails and hove out the signal for close action. As the answering pendants were displayed along the line the order was greeted by hearty cheers, evincive of the admiration awakened throughout the squadron by the hardy manœuvre of the "Niagara" and of renewed confidence of victory.

The helm had been put up on board the "Niagara," sail made and the signal for close action hove out at forty-five minutes after two, the instant after Perry had boarded her. With the increased breeze, seven or eight minutes sufficed to traverse the distance of more than half a mile which still separated the "Niagara" from the enemy. As the enemy beheld her coming boldly down, reserving her fire until it could be delivered with terrible effect, they poured theirs in upon her in a raking position, and the "Detroit" made an effort to wear in order to present her starboard broadside to the "Niagara," several of the larboard guns being disabled. As this evolution commenced on board the "Detroit," the "Queen Charlotte" was running up under her lee. The evolution of wearing, which should properly have commenced with the sternmost and leewardmost vessel, not having been initiated with sufficient quickness by the "Queen," the consequence was that the latter ran her bowsprit and head booms into the mizzen rigging of the "Detroit," and the two British ships got foul of each other and continued in this unfortunate predicament, when the "Niagara," having shortened sail to check her velocity, passed slowly under the bows of the "Detroit," within half pistol-shot and poured into both vessels as they lay entangled a deadly and awfully destructive fire of grape and canister. The larboard guns, which were likewise manned, were directed with equally murderous effect into the sterns of the "Lady Prevost," which had passed to the head of the line, and the "Little Belt;" the

marines, at the same time, cleared their decks of every one to be seen above the rails. The piercing shrieks of the mortally wounded on every side showed how terrific had been the carnage. Passing under the lee of the two British ships, which had now got clear, but were but slightly separated, Captain Perry, brought by the wind on the starboard tack, with his head to the northward and eastward, and backing the "Niagara's" main topsail to deaden her headway, continued to pour his starboard broadside into the "Queen Charlotte" and the "Hunter," which lay astern of her. Some of his shots passed through the "Queen Charlotte's" ports into the "Detroit." At this juncture the small vessels also came into close action to windward and poured in a destructive fire of grape and canister, their shot and that of the "Niagara," whenever it missed its mark, passing the enemy and taking effect reciprocally on our own vessels.

All resistance now ceased: an officer appeared on the taffrail of the "Queen," to signify that she had struck; and her example was immediately followed by the "Detroit." Both vessels struck in about seven minutes after the "Niagara" opened this most destructive fire, and about fifteen minutes after Perry took command of her. The "Hunter" struck at the same time, as did the "Lady Prevost," which lay to leeward under the guns of the "Niagara."

The battle had begun on the part of the enemy at a quarter before meridian; at three the "Queen Charlotte" and "Detroit" surrendered, and all resistance was at an end. As the cannonade ceased and the smoke blew over, the two squadrons, now owning one master, were found completely mingled. The shattered "Lawrence," whose condition sufficiently attested where had been the brunt and burden of the day, lay to windward, a tattered and helpless wreck, with the flag of liberty once more flying over her; the "Niagara," with the signal for close action still set, lay close under the lee of the "Detroit," "Queen Charlotte," and "Hunter;" the "Caledonia," "Scorpion," and "Trippe," which had gallantly followed the "Niagara" through the enemy's line, had taken a position to leeward very favorable for preventing the enemy's escape. As the smoke passed to leeward, the "Chippewa" and "Little Belt" were discovered bearing up towards Malden under a press of sail. The "Scorpion" and "Trippe" went immediately in pursuit, and, after a few shots, compelled them to surrender.

The feeling which the spectacle of these prizes awakened in

the minds of the victors had in it as much of sorrow as of exultation. The ruined and tattered condition of that squadron, which, three short hours before, had presented itself in such proud array, beginning the action, and hurling death and defiance at those who, with inferior force, had ventured to brave the power of England, and, still more, the spectacle of bloodshed and agony which they everywhere presented within, after the excitement of the battle was over could not but overwhelm the mind with gloom, and make way once more for the indulgence of those humane sympathies which had been smothered in the strife of conflict. Nor did our ships fail to exhibit scenes well suited to harrow the feelings; the "Lawrence," especially, presented an awful spectacle. Twenty-two of her crew were killed and sixty-one wounded, making an aggregate of slaughter which is believed never to have been surpassed in any modern naval combat, unless where the conquered vessel has sunk with her whole crew. The "Niagara" lost two killed and twenty-three wounded; all but two of the wounded having been struck after Captain Perry took command of her, as stated by the surgeon who attended them. Three were wounded on board of the "Caledonia;" two on board the "Somers;" one killed and three wounded on board the "Ariel;" two killed on board the "Scorpion," and two wounded on board the "Trippe;" making an aggregate in the whole squadron of twenty-seven killed and ninety-six wounded.

The splendor of this victory dazzles the imagination. It was gained by a portion of an inferior squadron over another every way superior, and throughout the action concentrated in its force. It was gained, more eminently than any other naval viciory, by the exertions of one individual, a young man of twenty-seven, who had never beheld a naval engagement. He had dashed boldly into action with the "Lawrence," counting upon the support of those immediately around him, and trusting that the rear of his line would soon be able to close up to his support. Deserted by the "Niagara," which was to have encountered the second of the enemy's ships, and sustained only by the "Caledonia," the "Ariel," and the "Scorpion," we find him resisting for more than two hours the whole of the British squadron. Finding, at length, his vessel cut to pieces, his guns dismounted, means of resistance destroyed, and nearly the whole of his brave crew lying dead or wounded around him, instead of yielding the day, after having done everything that depended upon him to win it, and leaving the responsibility of defeat to the commander of the "Niagara,"

he thought only of using the means that remained to him still to secure a victory. Passing from the "Lawrence" under the enemy's fire; saved from death, as if miraculously, by the protecting genius of his country, he reached the "Niagara," and, by an evolution unsurpassed for genius and hardihood, bore down upon the enemy, and dashed with his fresh and uninjured vessel through the enemy's line. It was thus that the battle of Lake Erie was won, not merely by the genius and inspiration, but eminently by the exertions of one man.

Let us now follow the movements of Perry subsequent to the victory. After the enemy's colors had been hauled down, and provision had been made for officering and manning the prizes, confining the prisoners, securing the wounded masts, stopping shot-holes, and the combined squadron had been hauled by the wind on the starboard tack, he retired to the cabin to communicate briefly to General Harrison intelligence of an event which was to admit of the immediate advance of his army, and rescue our territory from the savage warfare which the surrender of Hull's army and subsequent disasters had entailed on it. The letter which he wrote, though short, was ample, since it expressed all that was necessary to be known.

"DEAR GENERAL:—We have met the enemy and they are ours.—Two ships, two brigs, one schooner and one sloop. Yours, with very great respect and esteem, O. H. PERRY."

He also wrote the following letter to the Secretary of the Navy, which was forwarded by the same express.

"SIR:—It has pleased the Almighty to give to the arms of the United States a signal victory over their enemies on this lake. The British squadron, consisting of two ships, two brigs, one schooner and one sloop, have this moment surrendered to the force under my command, after a sharp conflict.

"I have the honor to be, sir, very respectfully,

"Your obedient servant,

O. H. PERRY."

Nothing can be more beautifully conspicuous or more characteristic than the blended modesty and piety of this celebrated letter written without deliberation, in the moment of victory, and in the midst of abundant occupation.—A. SLIDELL MACKENZIE.

COMMODORE DAVID PORTER.

IN the annals of the American navy the name Porter has been conspicuous. One of the family reached the highest rank ever attained in that branch of public service. Early in the eighteenth century Alexander Porter commanded a Boston merchant ship. His son, Captain David Porter, commanded a vessel, commissioned by General Washington to capture ships carrying stores to the British army. In 1778 he took charge of the sloop "Delight," of six guns, fitted out in Maryland, and was active against the enemy. In 1780 he commanded the "Aurora," of ten guns, equipped in Massachusetts, but was captured by the British and endured the hardships of the Jersey prison ship, but finally escaped. After residing in Boston for some years Porter was appointed by President Washington a sailing master in the navy, and had charge of the signal station on Federal Hill at Baltimore. Both of his sons, David and John, entered the naval service.

David Porter was born at Boston, Massachusetts, on February 1, 1780. Owing to his father's frequent absence from home, his education devolved chiefly on his mother, a woman of excellent character. His strong desire to follow the sea was first gratified when he accompanied his father in the "Eliza" to the West Indies. While they were lying in the harbor of Jeremie in Santo Domingo, a British officer claimed the right to search the vessel for deserters. Captain Porter replied that should any such attempt be made he would certainly resist. The Englishman ordered his men to board, and the American shouted the command, "Repel boarders!" Several men were shot on both sides, and the British sailors were driven off. One man fell dead by the side of young Porter,

who thus received his baptism of blood. In later voyages he was twice impressed by British ships of war, but escaped and worked his passage home.

In April, 1798, David Porter was commissioned as a midshipman in the United States navy and ordered to join the frigate "Constitution," of 38 guns, commanded by Captain Thomas Truxton. While on his way to the West Indies, on February 9, 1799, Truxton fell in with the French frigate "L'Insurgente," one of the fleetest vessels afloat, which had already inflicted considerable damage on American commerce. After a severe fight at close quarters for more than an hour the French vessel struck her flag. Young Porter was commended for his gallantry by Captain Truxton and was promoted lieutenant. In January, 1800, the schooner "Experiment," under his command, was becalmed off Santo Domingo, with several merchantmen under her protection. She was attacked by ten piratical barges, but drove them off after a fight of seven hours, Lieutenant Porter being wounded. In other affairs with privateers Porter's courage was displayed, especially in the capture of the French schooner "Diane," of 14 guns and 60 men. In August, 1801, he was on the schooner "Enterprise," of 12 guns, when she captured a Tripolitan cruiser of 14 guns, off Malta. From the frigate "New York" he led a boat expedition into the harbor of Tripoli and there destroyed several feluccas. At the age of twenty-three he was appointed first lieutenant on the frigate "Philadelphia." In October, 1803, this vessel ran on a ledge of rocks and was captured by the Tripolitans. Porter remained a prisoner until peace was proclaimed, June 3, 1805.

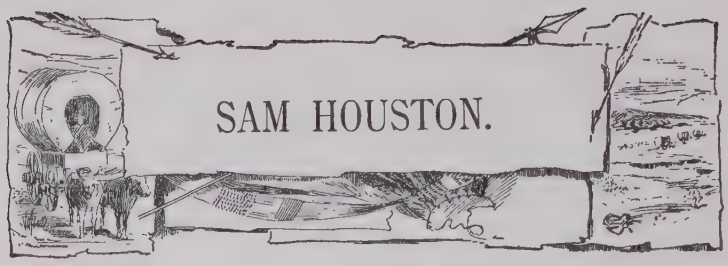
Porter again took charge of the "Enterprise," and cruised in the Mediterranean without signal adventure. After returning to the United States, he married in March, 1808, Evelina Anderson, of Chester, Pennsylvania. He was subsequently appointed to command a gunboat flotilla near New Orleans. While here he was joined by his father, who was delighted to serve under him as sailing master. When Congress declared war against Great Britain in 1812 Porter was promoted captain and put in command of the frigate "Essex," 32 guns. She sailed from New York on July 3, bearing a

flag with the motto, "Free Trade and Sailors' Rights." In this Free Trade meant the right to carry on commerce with any country without regard to the dictation of France or England. In a short cruise Captain Porter captured several British merchantmen, as well as the armed sloop "Alert," which surrendered after an action of eight minutes. Sailing south he seized many valuable prizes off the coast of Brazil, and in January, 1813, set out for the Pacific Ocean to destroy the English whale fishery. At Valparaiso he learned that Chili had declared her independence and that the Viceroy of Peru had sent out cruisers against the Americans. On March 25th he captured the Peruvian privateer "Nerayda," of 19 guns, which had taken two American whale-ships and held their crews as prisoners. The "Nerayda" was released after being disarmed, and one of her prizes was restored to its commander. During Porter's ten-months cruise in the Pacific many British whaling-ships were captured, the total loss being not less than $2,500,000, with 400 prisoners. The "Georgeana," which had been captured, was turned into a war vessel, under the name "Essex, Junior," and cruised with the "Essex."

The British government, alarmed at the destruction of the Pacific whale fishery, sent out a special expedition, under Captain James Hillyar, against the "Essex." Porter, learning of this, sailed to the Marquesas or Washington islands to refit his vessels. In November, 1813, he took possession of an island, whose inhabitants had shown hospitality, and named it Madison, in honor of the President. In February, 1814, Porter returned to Valparaiso, and on the 8th Captain Hillyar, arriving there with the "Phœbe," 46 guns, and the "Cherub," 28 guns, and anchored near the "Essex." For six weeks the British vessels cruised off the port waiting for the departure of the "Essex." Porter then set sail, but his vessel, being damaged in a squall, was obliged to return. The "Phœbe" and "Cherub" followed her into the harbor, and, in violation of its neutrality, opened fire on March 28, 1814. Their flags bore the motto, "God and country, British sailors' best rights; Traitors offend them." Captain Porter then replied: "God, our Country, and Liberty; Tyrants offend

them." The "Essex" ran out three long guns at the stern ports, which soon compelled the "Phœbe" to retire for repairs. But as her guns were of long range, while those of the "Essex" were mostly carronades, Captain Hillyar kept beyond the fire of the "Essex" until he had reduced it to a wreck. The "Essex" was forced to lower her colors, having lost 58 killed, 66 wounded, and 31 missing. Captain Porter and Lieutenant MacKnight were the only officers unhurt. The British loss was only 5 killed and 10 wounded. Porter wrote to the Secretary of the Navy: "'We have been unfortunate, but not disgraced." Captain Hillyar allowed Porter and his men to return home in the "Essex, Junior." Near Sandy Hook Captain Nash, commanding the British ship of war "Saturn," detained the "Essex, Junior," and after examining Porter's passport, declared him again a prisoner. Porter therefore took the first opportunity to escape, and landed on Long Island. On arriving in New York he was welcomed as the hero of the Pacific and the Mediterranean, and received the thanks of Congress and of several State legislatures. Porter aided in the defence of Baltimore, and after peace was concluded was for eight years a navy commissioner.

In 1823 Commodore Porter took charge of a fleet fitted out against the pirates in the West Indies. One of his schooners was sent to search for goods stored by the pirates in Porto Rico, but its commander was himself seized as a pirate and imprisoned. Porter then sailed to the island, landed a force, and demanded an apology, which was given. But his home government, thinking he had exceeded his powers, brought him before a court martial, by which he was sentenced to suspension for six months. He resigned his commission in 1826, and was made commander-in-chief of the Mexican navy, with a salary of $25,000. In 1829 he returned to the United States, charging the Mexican officials with treachery. President Jackson appointed him consul-general to the Barbary States, and from this post he was transferred to Constantinople, where he was minister resident. He died at Pera, Turkey, March 28, 1843. His remains were brought to America in the United States brig "Truxton," and buried in Philadelphia. His memoir was written by his son, Admiral David D. Porter.



AS a province of Mexico Texas had been neglected until emigrants from the United States settled within its bounds. The leader in achieving its independence was General Sam Houston, one of the most picturesque characters in American history. He was of Scotch-Irish descent and was born near Lexington, Virginia, March 2, 1793. His father had served in the Revolution and remained an army officer till his death in 1807. Then the widow, with her six sons and three daughters removed to East Tennessee. Here close to the Cherokee country Sam was soon on familiar terms with the Indians, and won their esteem by his success as a hunter. In youth he went to live among them, and Oolooteka, one of their chiefs, otherwise known as John Jolly, adopted him as his son. Returning to his family he taught school for a while. In 1813 he enlisted in the army and fought under General Jackson against the Creek Indians at the Great Bend of the Tallapoosa, March 24, 1814, where he was severely wounded. After peace was declared in 1815, Houston was promoted lieutenant. In November, 1817, he was appointed to assist in carrying out a new treaty with the Cherokees, and during the winter conducted a delegation of Indian chiefs to Washington. Complaints were made against him on account of his exertions to prevent the illegal importation of negroes from Florida, then a Spanish province. Though he was acquitted of all blame, he felt ill-treated and resigned his commission in the army in 1818.

Not much study was then required for admission to the bar in Tennessee, and within a few months Houston began law practice at Lebanon. He was speedily made adjutant-general of the State, and afterwards district attorney at Nash-

ville. In a few years he was major-general of the State militia, representative in Congress, and in 1827 Governor of Tennessee. Eighteen months later he married Miss Allen, an accomplished young lady. But four months had elapsed when he remarked to her half in jest that she seemed to care more for a former lover than for him. "You are correct," said she, "I think more of Mr. Nickerson's little finger than I do of your whole body." Further words ensued, and the next day Houston resigned his governorship. He left the State amid a storm of vituperation. The Cherokees had been removed to the territory west of Arkansas. Thither went the humiliated Houston and presented himself before his father Oolooteka, now their principal chief. The wanderer was kindly received and formally admitted to the tribe. He adopted the Indian costume, married an Indian wife, lived in a wigwam and became a trader. In 1832 he went to Washington to expose the frauds practiced on the Indians. But he was himself accused in Congress of trying to get a fraudulent contract. This was done by a member from Ohio, but at the instigation of some enemies from Tennessee. Houston attacked his accuser on the street, was arrested, fined, and rebuked by the Speaker of the House. But the fine was remitted by President Jackson, and the rebuke was so phrased as to be rather a compliment. Houston succeeded in having some guilty Indian agents removed.

In 1832 a revolutionary movement against Mexico was started in Texas by the American settlers. Houston joined this in December, and is said then to have abandoned the drinking habits into which he had fallen. In the Texas Constitutional Convention in April, 1833, he was a leading spirit. In October, 1835, when a provisional government was established, Houston opposed a declaration of absolute independence. His hope was to secure an early annexation of Texas to the United States. He was made commander-in-chief of the Texan army. At the convention held at New Washington, the absolute independence of Texas was declared March 2, 1836, and the flag of the Lone Star was adopted. General Santa Anna with about 5,000 Mexicans marched into Texas in three columns. On March 6th he captured the Fort of the

Alamo, and put to death the survivors of its heroic garrison, including David Crockett, Bowie and Travis. Houston soon heard of this atrocious massacre and of the approach of Santa Anna with 5,000 men. Houston who had no cannon fell back to the Colorado, where reinforcements brought his number up to 650 men. Colonel Fannin, who was marching to his aid with 500 men, was defeated and slain at Goliad with most of his followers. Santa Anna now pushed on towards Houston, whose force was still increasing. On the river San Jacinto, on April 21st, the Texans made a stand with nearly 800 men and two six-pounders. Houston led the charge with the battle cry, "Remember the Alamo!" The Mexican force of 1,600 regulars was routed with a loss of 630 killed and 730 prisoners. The Texans lost 8 killed and 25 wounded. On the next day Santa Anna, disguised as a private, was captured, but was spared by Houston. A treaty was made, securing the independence of Texas. But Houston, who had been wounded in the ankle, was treated with great indignity by the civil authorities. He retired to New Orleans, where he recovered his strength. In the meantime Mirabeau B. Lamar had been made commander-in-chief of the Texan army. When Houston returned in the autumn he announced himself as candidate for the presidency of the Republic of Texas. In a total vote of 5,104 he received 4,374. He entered on his official duties on October 22, 1836. His political rivals were appointed to important positions. Negotiations were opened with the United States government for annexation, but this was long deferred. Houston's presidential term expired December 12, 1838, and as the Constitution forbade two successive terms for the same person, Lamar was chosen for the next three years. Wars with the Indians and expeditions against the Mexicans brought on an enormous debt. Houston, who had served in the Congress, was again called to the Presidency in 1841. Peace and trade with Mexico were now restored, treaties made with the Indians, a large amount of the public debt paid off and the negotiations with the United States for annexation were forwarded. Before this object was accomplished Houston's second term had expired. But when by Calhoun's strategy Texas became one of the United States in March,

1845, Houston appeared in Washington as one of her first senators. He was a large fine-looking man, and wore a waistcoat made of a panther's skin. In the sessions of the Senate he spent much time in whittling. He was said to sleep in his room on a buffalo robe. Being a strenuous opponent of all attempts to take the Southern States from the Union, he resisted the repeal of the Missouri Compromise. Well acquainted with the Indians, he stoutly maintained their rights, declaring that no treaty, which had been faithfully executed by the whites, had ever been broken by the Indians.

When the Native American party was formed in 1854, Houston manifested sympathy with the movement, and in its presidential convention, in 1856, received some votes. In the next year when candidate for Governor of Texas he was defeated, but two years later as an independent candidate he defeated the same opponent. He was a leading candidate for presidential nomination by the Constitutional Union party in 1860, but John Bell received the honor. Though opposed to Lincoln's election, Houston, who was then governor, declared that it afforded no grounds for secession. A convention of the State of Texas however in February, 1861, declared for secession, and all state officers were required to take the oath of allegiance to the Confederate States government. This Houston refused to do, and in March he was deposed. He refused to accept the aid of Federal troops. When Civil War began, he submitted to the action of his State, and urged his friends to resist invasion of Northern armies. He died at Huntersville, Texas, July 25, 1863.

Houston was a curious example of that sturdy, self-reliant, aggressive Scotch-Irish spirit which is seen to better advantage in Andrew Jackson. What Jackson did for Tennessee, Houston did for Texas. Both struggled for the Union, Jackson successfully against nullification from the advantageous post of the Presidency, Houston honorably, but without avail from the weaker position of a state governor. The histrionic element in his character made him conspicuous, but detracted from his real dignity.

The Battle of San Jacinto.

About 9 A.M on Thursday, the 21st of April, (1836) it was discovered that a considerable force, under General Cos, was advancing from the direction of Vince's bridge toward Santa Anna's camp. As it was seen by the Texans, it was believed to be a reinforcement to Santa Anna. General Houston, although his spies had brought information of the arrival of the reinforcement, not caring that it should be at that time known, suggested that it was a ruse of the Mexicans; that they had marched round from their left wing, and were returning, with a view to make the impression that they were reinforced.

About noon, or a little before, the commander-in-chief was waited on by several of the officers, suggesting a council of war. He assented to the proposition, and it was informally held immediately, consisting of Colonels Burleson and Sherman, Lieutenant-Colonels Millard, Somerville, and Bennett, and Major Wells. The question was laid before them, "Whether they should attack the enemy in his position, or await an attack from him in theirs." The two last-named officers were in favor of an attack on the enemy in his position: the others were in favor of awaiting an attack from him. The reasons given for the latter opinion were that the Texan camp was admirably situated for defence; that the Mexicans were fortified in their encampment; that it was defended by veterans, well disciplined; and that an attack upon them through an open prairie, with undisciplined militia, armed mostly with rifles, was unprecedented. The council was then dismissed.

Deaf Smith and a companion whom he had been directed in the morning to select, were now sent for, and secretly despatched, with the axes, to cut down Vince's bridge, and burn it—the commander-in-chief saying to Smith, as he departed, that the grass, which he then beheld before him so beautiful in the prairie, would be crimsoned before his return, unless he was speedy.

Bray's bayou runs into Buffalo bayou at Harrisburg, on the right bank. Five miles farther down toward the bay, over Vince's bayou is Vince's bridge. It was crossed by both armies on their downward march, and was the only passway by land, especially at that season of the year, to the Brazos. After the main body of the Mexican reinforcement under General Cos had passed Bray's bayou, and while the rearguard was crossing over, the

wagoners and some others of the Texan camp-guard near Harrisburg, hearing the noise, paraded under the command of wagon-master Rhorer, made a forced march to the bayou, and gave them a volley, which so alarmed them, that they turned and fled toward the Brazos, scattering and leaving their baggage on the road. The wagoners crossed over and gathered quite a supply.

Shortly after the departure of Smith and Reeves to destroy the bridge Lieutenant-Colonel Bennett was sent through the camp to ascertain the state of feeling among the troops. He reported them all enthusiastic and in fine spirits. It was now nearly three o'clock in the afternoon. The Mexicans were dull and heavy, the higher class of them enjoying their siesta. Santa Anna admits that he himself was asleep. Houston, having formed his plan of battle, submitted it to the Secretary of War, who approved of it. He then ordered the troops to parade, which they did with alacrity and spirit. The locality of the Texan camp afforded ample opportunity to form in order of battle without being seen by the enemy. Burleson's regiment was placed in the centre; Sherman's on the left wing; the artillery, under Hockley, on the right of Burleson; the infantry, under Millard, on the right of the artillery, and the cavalry, under Lamar (whose gallant conduct the day before had won him this command), on the extreme right. The enemy's cavalry was on his left wing; his centre, which was fortified, was composed of his infantry, with his artillery in an opening in the centre of the breastwork. He had extended his extreme right to the river, so as to occupy a skirt of timber projecting out from it.

The Texan cavalry was first despatched to the front of the enemy's horse to draw their attention, while the remainder of the army, which had advanced in column to the cluster of timber, three or four hundred yards in front, was deploying into line. The evolution was quickly performed, and the whole force advanced rapidly and in good order. The Secretary of War, at the request of the general-in-chief, took command of the left wing. While the Texans were thus advancing, Deaf Smith rode at the top of his horse's speed to the front, and informed Houston that Vince's bridge was destroyed. The general announced it to the line. The "Twin Sisters" (cannon furnished from Cincinnati) now advanced to within 200 yards of the Mexican breastwork and opened a destructive fire with grape and canister. Sherman's regiment commenced the action upon the Texan left. The whole line, advancing in double-quick time, cried, "Remember the

Alamo!"—"Remember Goliad!"—and, while approaching the enemy's works, received his fire, but withheld their own until within pistol-shot. The effect of this fire on the enemy was terrible. But the Texans made no halt—onward they went. On the left they penetrated the woodland; the Mexicans fled. On the right, the Texan cavalry charged that of the enemy: the latter fled. In the centre, the Texan artillery advanced to within seventy yards of that of the Mexicans, but ceased to fire, for Burleson's regiment and Millard's infantry had stormed the breastwork, took the enemy's artillery, and were driving them back.

In fifteen minutes after the charge, the Mexicans gave way at all points, and the pursuit was general. Some of them fled to the river, some to the swamp in their rear, others towards Vince's bridge, but the largest portion, perhaps, to a clump of trees not far to the rear, where they surrendered. Such was their consternation, and so sudden their defeat, that their cannon was left loaded, and their precious movables untouched; those that were asleep, awoke only in time to be overwhelmed; those that were cooking their dinner, left it uneaten; those that were playing *monte*, left the game unfinished. The morass in the rear and right of the enemy's camp, and into which so many of the fugitives fled, presented an awful scene. Men and horses, dead and dying, formed a bridge for the furious pursuers. The Texans, having no time to load their guns, used them as clubs. So with their pistols; they then had recourse to their bowie-knives, and finally to the weapons of the fallen enemy. It is said that Deaf Smith, after announcing to Houston the news of the destruction of the bridge, threw himself into the midst of the enemy, and, after breaking his own sword in combat, coolly took another from one he had slain, and continued the work of death. "The commander-in-chief," says the Secretary of War in his report, "acted with great gallantry, encouraging the men to the attack, and heroically charged, in front of the infantry, within a few yards of the enemy. It was here that he received a severe wound in his ankle, and had his horse shot two or three times."

The pursuit of the enemy's cavalry continued to the site of Vince's bridge. Karnes led in this pursuit. He discovered in advance of him a Mexican officer in a splendid uniform and mounted on a beautiful black charger. Being well mounted himself, he had a desire to capture him, and went in pursuit. Perhaps such a race was never before seen in Texas. Karnes, unable to gain on the fugitive, supposed he would take him at the destroyed

bridge. The officer, reaching the bayou, saw that the bridge was gone, but, making no halt, plunged down the steep descent into the water; and as Karnes rode up on the right bank, to his utter astonishment he saw his foe climbing the almost perpendicular wall on the other!

At dark the pursuit of the flying enemy ceased. The prisoners taken were conducted to the Texan camp, placed under guard, and supplied with provisions. A suitable guard was also left at the Mexican camp. The wounded of both armies were as well provided for as the circumstances would permit. After the excitement of the battle had somewhat subsided, Houston found that his wounded limb had swollen; his boot was cut off, and such attention paid to the wound as could be procured to alleviate the pain.

The main body of the prisoners were taken that night. At their head was the cheerful and philosophical Almonté. With him it appeared only a scene in life's drama. Conversing fluently in both English and Spanish, he threw a charm over all with whom he came in contact. At a time so trying to his comrades, he proved himself a true descendant of the brave Morelos, and worthy of a better fate than that accorded to his noble sire.

The aggregate force of the Texan army in the battle was 783; that of the enemy was perhaps twice the number. The Mexicans lost 630 killed, 208 wounded and 730 prisoners; besides a large quantity of arms and great numbers of mules and horses taken, together with their camp-equipage, and the military chest, containing twelve thousand dollars. The Texan loss was only 8 killed and 25 wounded!

On the morning of the 22nd, detachments were sent out to scour the country toward Harrisburg, for the purpose of taking prisoners. A party of five, having reached Vince's, continued the search down Buffalo bayou. One of them, James A. Sylvester, while in the act of shooting a deer, discovered a Mexican pursuing his course toward the bridge. He called his companions, and they rode up to the fugitive, who had fallen down in the grass, and thrown a blanket over his head. They called to him to rise, but he only uncovered his face. They repeated the request for him to rise two or three times, when he did so. He advanced to Sylvester, and shook hands with him, at the same time kissing his hand. He inquired for General Houston: they said he was in camp. They then asked him who he was. He said he was a private soldier. Seeing the fine studs on the bosom of his shirt

they pointed toward them. He then said he was an aide to Santa Anna, and burst into a flood of tears. They reassured him. He was dressed as a common soldier, and had no arms. He exhibited to them a letter from Colonel Almonté. As he complained of not being able to walk, he was placed on one of their horses, and conducted to the camp by some of the party, Sylvester going in another direction.

The distinguished prisoner—for it was Santa Anna—was handed over to Colonel Forbes at the guard-lines, and, exhibiting to him a letter addressed to "Don Antonio Lopez de Santa Anna," desired to be conducted to General Houston. Colonel Hockley at that time passing by, the matter was referred to him, and they both concluding that it was Santa Anna, conducted him to headquarters. On the way the Mexican prisoners exclaimed, "El presidente!"

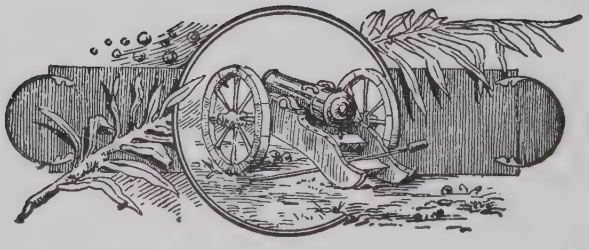
Houston was lying on a mattress under an oak which he had made his headquarters, with his wounded limb in an easy position, and had fallen into a gentle slumber. Being awakened, the captive chieftain said to him, "I am General Antonio Lopez de Santa Anna, and a prisoner of war at your disposition." Houston looked at him and by a motion of his hand directed him to a tool chest, where he could sit down. He did so, leaning forward and pressing his sides with his hands. Colonel Forbes was then dispatched for Santa Anna's private Secretary, in order to identify his chief. He was brought, and in the meantime Colonel Rusk and others came up. Santa Anna asked for opium. A piece of about five grains was handed him, which he swallowed. He immediately proposed to enter into negotiations for his liberation, but General Houston answered him that it was a subject of which he could not take cognizance, inasmuch as Texas had a government, to which such matters appropriately belonged. Santa Anna observed that he disliked to have anything to do with civilians; that he abhorred them and would much rather treat with the general of the army. "And," continued he, "general, you can afford to be generous; you are born to no common destiny—you have conquered the Napoleon of the West." General Houston and Colonel Rusk both assured him that no negotiations could be opened until the cabinet assembled. General Houston then asked him how he expected to negotiate under the circumstances that had occurred at the Alamo. About this time Colonel Almonté, who had been sent for, arrived, and, after salutations between him and his chief, the latter replied that "General Houston

knew that, by the rules of war, when a fortress, insufficient to defend itself, was summoned to surrender and refused and caused the effusion of human blood, the vanquished, when it was taken, were devoted to execution." General Houston replied that "he knew such to have been the rule at one period, but he thought it now obsolete and a disgrace to the nineteenth century. But," continued Houston, "General Santa Anna, you cannot urge the same excuse for the massacre at Goliad: *they* capitulated, were betrayed and massacred in cold blood!" Santa Anna replied: "If they ever had capitulated he was not aware of it. Urrea had deceived him and informed him that they were vanquished; and he had orders from his government to execute all that were taken with arms in their hands." Houston rejoined: "General Santa Anna, you are the government—a dictator has no superior."—"But," answered Santa Anna, "I have the order of our Congress to treat all that were found with arms in their hands, resisting the authority of the government, as pirates. And Urrea has deceived me. He had no authority to enter into any agreement, and if I ever live to regain power he shall be punished for it."

After a pause, Houston asked him if he did not desire some refreshment, as he supposed he was exhausted. He said he did. He then asked if he desired to have his tents, baggage, staff, servants, etc. He replied that he would gladly have them. Colonel Almonté was thereupon directed to select them; and the prisoner's quarters were established near Houston's favorite tree, where he had his headquarters.

General Houston, previous to Santa Anna's retirement from the audience, stated to him that he must forthwith write an order to his second in command to evacuate Texas, and fall back to Monterey. . . . Santa Anna, at the same time, addressed another despatch to General Filisola, charging him to instruct the commandants of the several Mexican divisions not to permit any injury to be done to the inhabitants of the county; also, at the same time, a third note, directing Filisola to order the military commandant at Goliad to set all the prisoners, taken at Copano, at liberty, and send them forthwith to San Felipe de Austin. These orders were despatched by Deaf Smith. The troops under Filisola had been encamped on the eastern bank of the Brazos. They could not be made to believe the report of the first fugitives from the battlefield of the San Jacinto; but when, an hour afterward, a second one came in, orders to retreat were given and they recrossed the river.

The 22d day of April was the first *free* day in Texas. Before then, her people had declared their independence, but now they had won it in a noble contest. The victory was physically and morally complete. The blow was given at the proper time, and in a vital part. In looking back at the events of the campaign, we can see no time when it could have succeeded so well. Providence seemed in every way to favor the result. It was a full retribution for past outrages. Santa Anna had presided over a feast of blood at the Alamo; he had ordered a second at Goliad; and he was made to behold another at San Jacinto. The Texans had their revenge. At that time, a thousand troops were on the way to reinforce their army; but it was so ordered that they should do the work themselves.—H. YOAKUM.



MARTIN VAN BUREN.

OF all the Presidents of the United States Martin Van Buren has the reputation of being the most adroit politician. From the adoption of the Federal Constitution the politics of New York were complicated. Those who aspired to leadership were obliged to be wary in the expression of views and shrewd in the manipulation of men. Aaron Burr had set the example of winning victory by skillful organization, and his successors carried still further his political methods. The Albany Regency extended to the State the systematic organization which had been commenced in New York city. Van Buren was the ruling spirit of this junta, which included also the able leaders, Silas Wright and W. L. Marcy. Yet Van Buren had certain fixed principles to which he adhered unflinchingly throughout his career, though swayed at times by popular demands in minor matters. In recent years his character has come to be better understood and more highly respected.

Martin Van Buren was born at Kinderhook, Columbia county, New York, on the 5th of December, 1782. He was of Dutch descent, and his father was a thrifty farmer. Martin was educated in the schools of his native village, and early began to study law. Before he was admitted to the bar in 1803, he had begun to take part in politics. He was a zealous adherent of Jefferson. His peculiar power of winning personal trust assisted his rise in his profession as well as in politics. In 1808 he became surrogate of Columbia county, and in 1812 was elected to the State Senate. While still holding his seat in this body he was made, in 1815, Attorney General of the State, and in the next year removed his residence to Albany

His influence was directed against De Witt Clinton and in favor of General Jackson as the rising hope of the Democratic party. In the general dissolution of the old parties he led the way to the election of Rufus King, a former Federalist, to the U. S. Senate in 1819. Two years later Van Buren was himself elected to the same body, and was also chosen a member of the Convention to revise the State Constitution. That he was not then an extreme Democrat is shown by his seeking to limit the elective franchise to householders, and opposing an elective judiciary and the choice of minor offices by the people. He was, in fact, an upholder of the farming interest against the encroachments of the money power and "the anti-republican tendencies of associated wealth."

In the United States Senate Van Buren voted for the protective tariffs of 1824 and 1828, but did not otherwise declare his economic views. After voting for a few internal improvements, he opposed others as unconstitutional, though he suggested a constitutional amendment to bring them within the power of Congress. In 1828 he was elected governor of New York, but in the next year he was called to be Secretary of State in President Jackson's cabinet. Van Buren had, in fact, brought about Jackson's nomination by uniting in his favor all the Senators opposed to President J. Q. Adams. Henceforth he was Jackson's chief political adviser. During the ladies' quarrel which had much effect on the composition of Jackson's cabinet, the widower Van Buren gallantly and adroitly supported the cause of Mrs. Eaton, whom the President considered unjustly treated by Washington society. In 1831 Van Buren, who was already scheming for the Presidential nomination, resigned his secretaryship and was sent as minister to England, where he was received with much attention. But in the next session of Congress the Senate, by the casting vote of Vice-President Calhoun, refused to confirm the nomination. This was Calhoun's revenge for Van Buren's intrigues against himself and his nullification policy. But the President the more warmly supported his friend, and Van Buren's popularity with the Jacksonian Democrats was increased. The interests of the party required that Jackson should be nominated again, and Van Buren, who had hoped

for the first place, was obliged to be content with the second. He was elected Vice-President in 1832, and thus came to preside over the body which had so recently rejected him. While he occupied the chair he was obliged to listen to many tirades against the President's political course and its disastrous effects on the country. Van Buren showed no disquiet, but endeavored to conciliate his political opponents. "The Little Magician," as he was called, was the heir of Jackson's popularity, and was duly nominated and elected to the Presidency in 1836. He had a majority of 57 in the electoral college and of 25,000 in the popular vote.

During President Jackson's administration there had been, in the main, financial prosperity. The national debt had been entirely paid, and in 1836 there was a surplus in the Treasury, which Congress ordered to be distributed among the several States. Jackson's opposition to the Bank of the United States is well known. Before its charter expired in 1836, many new State banks were started, and "pet banks," with little regard for their ability, were favored with government deposits. An enormous amount of notes was issued, and speculation was greatly stimulated. In May, 1837, when Van Buren had been only two months in the White House, the reaction took place. The banks suspended specie payments, and the government could not recover its deposits. Congress was summoned in special session in September. The President explained the situation and advised the establishment of an independent treasury, with sub-treasuries in different cities, for keeping and disbursing public moneys. Congress was reluctant to accept this remedy, which might free the government from embarrassment, but would give no immediate relief to the suffering people. Not until 1840 did Congress authorize the Independent Treasury. The act was repealed in 1842, but again enacted in 1846. Since that time the Independent Treasury has remained part of the fiscal system of the United States. It is Van Buren's legacy to his country.

Van Buren was again nominated for the Presidency in 1840, but the distress of the people had weakened the influence of his party, and he was defeated by General W. H. Har-

rison. In 1844 a majority of the delegates to the Democratic Convention at Baltimore were pledged to support him. But as he was known to be opposed to the annexation of Texas, a motion was introduced and passed making a two-thirds vote necessary for nomination. This Van Buren could not obtain, and his name was withdrawn. In June, 1848, he was nominated by the anti-slavery Democrats, or Barn-burners, at Utica, New York. This nomination was endorsed by the Free-Soil Convention at Buffalo in August, whose rallying cry was "Free Soil, Free Speech, Free Labor and Free Men." Although his ticket received less than 300,000 votes in the following November, it brought about the defeat of General Lewis Cass and the election of the Whig, General Taylor, Thereafter Van Buren lived in retirement at his country place, Lindenwald, in his native county, but gave his support to the Democratic party. He wrote an "Inquiry into the Origin and Course of Political Parties in the United States," which, though left unfinished, was published by his sons in 1867. He died at Kinderhook, on the 24th of July, 1862.

Martin Van Buren was the first President who had not been born a British subject. His private life was spotless. He was prudent and economical. When he became President he appeared a short, stoutly-built man, with florid face, bald head and bushy side-whiskers. He was always noted for his dignity, courtesy and grace, as a gentleman of the old school. He spoke in gentle, persuasive tones, and used every exertion to win new friends and retain old ones. His skill in contriving means for the attainment of public ends procured for him the sobriquet, "the Little Magician." As a politician he adhered to the maxim formulated by William L. Marcy, one of his successors, "To the victor belong the spoils." Yet he maintained a high standard of appointment. As a statesman he was an advocate of a strict construction of the Constitution, and at times made further concessions to the slave-holding States than he could afterwards justify. He was aristocratic in manner and sentiment, yet a sincere lover of the welfare of the people.

WILLIAM H. HARRISON.

ONLY for a single month did William Henry Harrison, the ninth President of the United States, enjoy the honor of that dignity—too brief a period to test his executive ability. But the exciting electoral campaign by which he was raised to that eminence has fixed his name in popular memory more firmly than that of others who were permitted to live out their terms.

William Henry Harrison was born in Charles City county, Virginia, on the 9th of February, 1773. His father, Benjamin Harrison, was physically the largest member of the Continental Congress. He was a signer of the Declaration of Independence and was twice elected Governor of Virginia. He has been said to be descended from one of the English regicides, but this is an error. William Henry, his youngest son, was educated at Hampden-Sydney College, and had entered on the study of medicine when he was called away by the outbreak of Indian hostilities on the western frontier. He was not yet nineteen years of age when he received his commission as ensign from President Washington, his father's friend. He joined the army under General St. Clair, was commissioned lieutenant and afterwards became aide-de-camp to General Wayne. He laid out the plan of march which led to the victory at Maumee Rapids on August 20, 1794, and distinguished himself by coolness and valor in the fight. In May, 1797, Harrison was made captain and placed in command of Fort Washington, on the site of the present city of Cincinnati. While here he married Anna, daughter of John Cleves Symmes, owner of the ground on which the fort was built.

In 1798, peace having been concluded with the Indians, Harrison resigned his commission and was appointed by Presi-

dent Adams secretary of the North-west Territory, under General St. Clair, as Governor. In 1799 Harrison was elected delegate to Congress. He secured the division of the public lands into small tracts, suited to the needs of actual settlers. When the territory of Indiana was formed a year later he was made its Governor. The territory comprised the present States of Indiana, Illinois, Michigan and Wisconsin. The Governor was largely employed in negotiating treaties with the Indian tribes and otherwise superintending their affairs. Some of the treaties ceding lands to the United States were not acceptable to all of the chiefs, and a new spirit of hostility began to display itself among their tribes. British agents stimulated them to commence hostilities. The celebrated Tecumseh and his brother Ellskwatawa, known as the Prophet, made use of every means of persuasion to induce the Indians throughout the West to unite in common war against the white invaders of their lands. By various acts their designs became evident. In August, 1810, Tecumseh, with 400 armed warriors, went to Vincennes, then the capital of the territory. This was in response to the invitation of Governor Harrison, who had limited the delegation to thirty. A council was held, at which the real state of affairs was disclosed. Tecumseh furiously denounced the whites of the "Seventeen Fires" (States) for cheating the red men of their birthright. But for Harrison's firmness and prudence, the council might have had a bloody termination.

In the spring of 1811 signs of an Indian outbreak began to appear, and the Governor sent word to Tecumseh that unless the depredations should cease they would be punished. The chief promised another interview, and in July, with 300 followers, again presented himself at Vincennes. Finding twice that number of militia assembled, he professed friendship and retired. The frontier settlers were still alarmed and molested. Then Harrison determined to establish a military post near Tippecanoe, the Prophet's town, on the Wabash. With 900 men, of whom 350 were regular infantry, he set out, and near Terre Haute built Fort Harrison. Leaving here a garrison, he went on, and when within two miles of Tippecanoe, on the 6th of November, was met by chiefs who requested him

to encamp for the night that a council might be held in the morning. Harrison suspected treachery and prepared his men for a night attack. At 4 A. M. the camp was furiously assailed by the savages and a sanguinary conflict ensued. At daybreak the Indians were driven from the field by a cavalry charge. The United States troops lost 62 killed and 126 wounded. The loss of the Indians was much greater. Governor Harrison, who had personally directed the movements of the troops, now received the thanks of the Legislatures of Indiana and Kentucky, and was complimented by President Madison.

When war with Great Britain was declared in June, 1812, Harrison was commissioned as major-general of the militia of Kentucky and afterwards as brigadier-general of the regular army. Before the close of the year he was placed in full command of the North-western Army of the United States. He used every means to equip and discipline his men and inspired them with confidence by his energy and courage. His plan was to concentrate his troops at the rapids of the Maumee and thence advance on Detroit. But various delays prevented this being done. General Winchester, who led the advance, was defeated at the river Raisin in January, 1813, before Harrison could reach him. A fortified camp, named Fort Meigs, from the Governor of Ohio, was established, and General Harrison went to Cincinnati to obtain supplies. In March he received commission as a major-general. Learning that the British intended to attack Fort Meigs, he returned to that place. On May 1st the siege was commenced by Colonel Proctor, but when reinforcements arrived from Kentucky he withdrew. Another attack was made in July with similar results.

When General Harrison heard of the victory of Commodore Perry on Lake Erie, he prepared to cross into Canada. The army embarked at Portage and landed at Malden on September 27th. Proctor's army consisted of nearly 700 regular troops and more than 800 Indians led by Tecumseh. He had abandoned Malden and retreated as the Americans approached. Being overtaken on October 5th, he took position, having his left flanked by the Thames river and his right protected by a swamp. His men were formed in open order, as was usual in Indian fighting, but Harrison ordered Colonel Richard M.

Johnson to charge with his mounted riflemen. The British were thrown into confusion and most of them were captured. The Indians, however, stood firm, and a desperate contest ensued between them and the Kentuckians until Tecumseh was slain. Proctor escaped by taking to the woods. In this battle of the Thames 600 regular British troops were captured. This victory won for Harrison the praise of the President, of Congress and of the people. But General John Armstrong, the secretary of war, was not friendly to Harrison, and the latter feeling slighted in a matter of etiquette, sent his resignation to President Madison at Washington. In the absence of the President, Secretary Armstrong accepted the resignation.

In 1816 General Harrison was elected to Congress from Ohio, and had to defend his actions in the field against fault-finders. In 1824 he was elected to the United States Senate. In 1828 he was sent by President J. Q. Adams as minister to the United States of Colombia, and negotiated a treaty of commerce. Being recalled by President Jackson, he retired to his farm at North Bend, on the Ohio, near Cincinnati. In 1835 he was nominated for the Presidency by some local conventions, and received 73 electoral votes, but Van Buren received 170 and was elected. In December, 1839, a national convention of the Whig party was held at Harrisburg, Pennsylvania. Clay and Webster were the ablest leaders of the party, but their rival claims offset each other, and General Harrison won the nomination. The Vice-Presidency was offered to John Tyler, of Virginia, in order to win the vote of that State. On account of the hard times there was much discontent with the administration of Van Buren, who yet was able to secure the nomination from his own party. The animated contest which followed has been called "the log-cabin and hard-cider campaign." One end of General Harrison's house was a log cabin built by the first settler on the place, and it was reported that the General offered a drink of cider to every old soldier who called on him. In the numerous processions and mass-meetings which were then first introduced into political campaigns, log-cabins and hard cider were prominent as emblems of the Whig party. The result of the election was the choice of Harrison by 224 electoral votes, while Van Buren had but 60.

President William H. Harrison was inaugurated on the 4th of March, 1841, amid great enthusiasm. His address lasted an hour and a half. He was tall and thin, with a martial bearing, and showed no infirmity of age. The position of Secretary of State had been offered to Henry Clay, but the Senator declined it, preferring to stay in the Senate. Webster had been selected for the Treasury, but by Clay's advice he was made Secretary of State, and Thomas Ewing, of Ohio, was placed in charge of the finances. On March 17th the President called an extra session of Congress to meet on May 31st, to consider the financial troubles of the country. But the vitality of the President, who was now sixty-eight years of age, was soon exhausted by the rush and persistency of office-seekers. Having caught cold from imprudent exposure, he was attacked with pneumonia and died on the 4th of April. The event following so close on the national rejoicings struck the people with dismay. After a solemn funeral, the remains were deposited in a vault in the Congressional Cemetery, and thence taken subsequently to the banks of the Ohio.

General Harrison had been trained in the political doctrines of Jefferson, and adhered to a strict construction of the Federal Constitution. In conversation and writing he was fond of the classical allusions, familiar in old-fashioned oratory. He had spent nearly fifty years in what was then the Far West, and was prominently identified with the perils, the interests, and the hopes of that region. He had discharged with ability the various offices he had been called to fill, but his renown was due to his military service.

The Battle of Tippecanoe.

It was the uniform usage of Governor Harrison to call up the troops an hour before day, and keep them under arms until it was light. On November 7th General Wells, Colonel Owen and Colonel Daviess had all risen and joined the Governor, who was on the point of issuing his orders for raising the army when the treacherous Indians had crept up so near the sentries as to hear them challenge when relieved. They intended to rush upon the sentries and kill them before they could fire; but one of the sentries discovered an Indian creeping towards him in the grass, and fired. This was immediately followed by the Indian yell and a

desperate charge upon the left flank. The guard in that quarter gave way and abandoned their officer, without making any resistance. Captain Barton's company of regulars, and Captain Keiger's company of mounted riflemen, forming the left angle of the rear line, received the first onset. The fire there was excessive; but the troops who had lain on their arms were immediately prepared to receive and gallantly resist the furious savage assailants. The manner of the attack was calculated to discourage and terrify the men; yet as soon as they could be formed and posted they maintained their ground with desperate valor, though but very few of them had ever before been in battle. The fires in the camp were extinguished immediately, as the light they afforded was more serviceable to the Indians than to our men.

As soon as the governor could mount his horse he proceeded towards the point of attack, and, finding the line much weakened there, he ordered two companies from the centre of the rear line to march up and form across the angle in the rear of Barton's and Keiger's companies. General Wells immediately proceeded to the right of his command; and Colonel Owen, who was with him, was proceeding directly to the point of attack, when he was shot on his horse near the lines, and thus bravely fell among the first victims of savage perfidy. A heavy fire now commenced all along the left flank, upon the whole of the front and right flank, and on a part of the rear line.

In passing through the camp, towards the left of the front line, the governor met with Colonel Daviess and the dragoons. The colonel informed him that the Indians, concealed behind some trees near the line, were annoying the troops very severely in that quarter; and he requested permission to dislodge them, which was granted. He immediately called on the first division of his cavalry to follow him, but the order was not distinctly heard, and but few of his men charged with him. Among those who charged were two young men who had gone with him from Kentucky, Messrs. Mead and Sanders, who were afterwards distinguished as captains in the United States' service. They had not proceeded far out of the lines when Daviess was mortally wounded by several balls and fell. His men stood by him and repulsed the savages several times, till they succeeded in carrying him into camp.

In the meantime the attack on Spencer's and Warwick's companies on the right became very severe. Captain Spencer and his lieutenants were all killed, and Captain Warwick was mortally

wounded. The Governor, in passing towards that flank, found Captain Robb's company near the centre of the camp. They had been driven from their post; or rather, had fallen back without orders. He sent them to the aid of Captain Spencer, where they fought very bravely, having seventeen men killed during the battle. Captain Prescott's company of United States infantry had filled up the vacancy caused by the retreat of Robb's company. Soon after Colonel Daviess was wounded, Captain Snelling, at the head of his company, charged on the same Indians and dislodged them with considerable loss. The battle was now maintained on all sides with desperate valor. The Indians advanced and retreated by a rattling noise made with deer hoofs: they fought with enthusiasm and seemed determined on victory or death.

As soon as daylight appeared Captain Snelling's company, Captain Posey's under Lieutenant Albright and Captain Scott's were drawn from the front line and Wilson's from the rear, and formed on the left flank, while Cook's and Baen's companies were ordered to the right. General Wells took command of the corps formed on the left, and with the aid of some dragoons, who were now mounted and commanded by Captain Park, made a successful charge on the enemy in that direction, driving them into an adjoining swamp, through which the cavalry could not pursue them. At the same time Cook's and Lieutenant Laribie's companies, with the aid of the riflemen and militia on the right flank, charged on the Indians and put them to flight in that quarter, which terminated the battle.

During the time of this contest the Prophet kept himself secure on an adjacent eminence, singing a war song. He had told his followers that the Great Spirit would render the army of the Americans unavailing, and that their bullets would not hurt the Indians, who would have light, while their enemies were involved in thick darkness. Soon after the battle commenced he was informed that his men were failing. He told them to fight on, it would soon be as he had predicted, and then began to sing louder.

Colonel Boyd commanded as a Brigadier General in this engagement; and the Governor in his letter to the war department, speaks highly of him and his brigade, and of Clarke and Croghan who were his aides. Colonel Decker is also commended for the good order in which he kept his command: and of General Wells, it is said that he sustained the fame which he had acquired in almost every campaign since the first settlement of Kentucky.

The officers and soldiers generally performed their duties

well. They acted with a degree of coolness, bravery and a good order which was not to be expected of men unused to carnage, and in a situation so well calculated to produce terror and confusion. The fortune of war necessarily put it in the power of some officers and their men, at the expense of danger, wounds and death, to render more service, and acquire more honor, than others; but to speak of their particular merits would be to detail again the operations of the conflict.

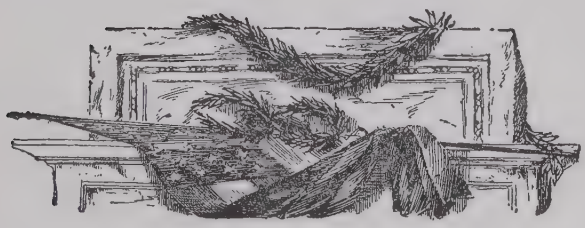
The whole number killed, with those who died soon of their wounds, was upwards of fifty; the wounded were about double that number. Governor Harrison himself narrowly escaped, the hair on his head being cut by a ball.

The Indians left thirty-eight warriors on the field, and buried several others in the town, which, with those who must have died of their wounds, would make their loss at least as great as that of the Americans. The troops under the command of Governor Harrison, of every description, amounted on the day before the battle to something more than eight hundred. The ordinary force that had been at the Prophet's town, through the preceding summer, was about four hundred and fifty. But they were joined a few days before the action by all the Kickapoos of the Prairie, and by many bands of Pottawatamies from the Illinois river, and the St. Josephs of Lake Michigan. They estimated their number after the battle to have been eight hundred; but the traders, who had a good opportunity of knowing, made them at least fourteen hundred. However, it is certain, that no victory was ever before obtained over the Northern Indians where the numbers were anything like equal. The number of killed, too, was greater than was ever before known. It is their custom always to avoid a close action, and from their dexterity in hiding themselves, but few of them can be killed, even when they are pouring destruction into the ranks of their enemy. It is believed that there were not ten of them killed at St. Clair's defeat, although one thousand Americans were massacred, and still fewer at Braddock's.

The Fourth regiment was about two hundred and fifty strong; and there were about sixty volunteers from Kentucky in the army. The rest of the troops were volunteers from the Indiana militia. Those from the neighborhood of Vincennes had been trained for several years by the Governor, and had become very expert in the manœuvres which he had adopted for fighting the Indians. The greater part of the territorial troops followed him as well from personal attachment as from a sense of duty. In-

deed, a greater degree of confidence and personal attachment has rarely been found in any army towards its commander than existed in this; nor have there been many battles in which the dependence of the army on its leader was more distinctly felt. During the whole action the Governor was constantly on the lines, and always repaired to the point which was most hardly pressed. The reinforcements drawn occasionally from the points most secure, were conducted by himself, and formed on the spot where their services were most wanted. The officers and men who believed that their ultimate success depended on his safety, warmly remonstrated against his so constantly exposing himself. Upon one occasion, as he was approaching an angle of the line, against which the Indians were advancing with horrible yells, Lieutenant Emerson of the dragoons, seized the bridle of his horse, and earnestly entreated that he would not go there; but the Governor putting spurs to his horse, pushed on to the point of attack, where the enemy were received with firmness and driven back.

The victory of Tippecanoe was one of the most important conflicts which ever occurred between the Indians and the whites. The Indian force far excelled the American army in number; yet notwithstanding this, and their attempted surprise, they were entirely routed by the gallantry, courage, and consummate generalship of Harrison.—R. B. McAfee.



JOHN TYLER.

JOHN TYLER was the first accidental President of the United States. Nominated for the Vice-Presidency by the Whig party with no regard to his acceptance of its principles, his succession to the position of real power unexpectedly proved that he had a policy of his own, which he was determined to execute. The keen disappointment of those who had elected him, and the fierce hostility of their leaders availed little. In the bitter struggle between Congress and the President the victory was substantially with the latter. But though Tyler had given the Democrats the substance of victory for their chief measures, he could not hope to obtain from them a re-election. After fifteen years of retirement accident again brought the Virginia lawyer into notice when secession was threatened, and he died a member of the Confederate Congress.

John Tyler was born at Greenway, Charles City county, Virginia, on the 29th of March, 1790. His father, bearing the same name, was governor of Virginia from 1808 to 1811, and afterwards a judge of admiralty. The son graduated from William and Mary College and was admitted to the bar in 1809. After five years' service in the State legislature he was elected to Congress in 1816. He was a follower of Madison, insisting upon a strict construction of the Constitution to limit the powers of the Federal Government and favor State rights. He opposed the national bank and Federal aid to internal improvements. Above all he opposed any restric-

tions on the extension of slavery, yet expressed the belief that by dispersion it would pass away. On this ground he voted against the Missouri Compromise in 1820. Though he resigned from Congress on account of ill health, he was soon again in the State legislature, and in 1825 was chosen governor of Virginia. The election was by the legislature, and in 1826 he was re-elected by a unanimous vote. In March, 1827, he succeeded John Randolph as United States Senator.

In the Senate Tyler was active in opposition to John Q. Adams' administration. Carrying out his views of strict construction of the Constitution, he voted against all projects of internal improvements. He voted against the protective tariff of 1828, and in 1831 he made a three-days' speech against the policy of protection. During the nullification movement in South Carolina in 1832, Tyler avowed his sympathy with the people of that State, and protested against President Jackson's proclamation of December 10th as a "tremendous engine of Federalism," tending to the consolidation of the States. He supported Clay's compromise tariff in 1833, but opposed the "Force bill," which gave the President special power to enforce the law. When this measure was put to vote, Calhoun and other opponents went out of the Senate chamber, so that it passed with thirty-two yeas to John Tyler's solitary nay. In like manner, though Tyler regarded a national bank as unconstitutional, he voted for Clay's censure of President Jackson for the removal of the deposits from the Bank of the United States, considering it an arbitrary assumption of power. When in 1836 the legislature of Virginia instructed its Senators to vote to expunge that censure from the journal of the Senate, Tyler resigned his seat. He had as far back as 1812, in the legislature, insisted upon the binding force of such instructions and censured the Senators of that time for not obeying them. A firm though narrow-minded consistency was maintained in all his acts.

Tyler was opposed to the extreme democracy of President Jackson and dreaded his arbitrary methods as dangerous to constitutional liberty. Throughout the South there were many opponents of Jackson who could not accept the nullification views of Calhoun. Though they had really little in

common with Webster and Clay, being opposed to protective tariffs, a national bank, and Federal aid to internal improvements, they were known as State-rights Whigs. This party nominated in 1836 Hugh L. White, of Tennessee, for President and John Tyler for Vice President. General Harrison was the candidate of the Northern Whigs. White obtained but 26 electoral votes, while Tyler had 47. But the successful candidates were Martin Van Buren with 170 electoral votes and R. M. Johnson who, not having received a majority in the electoral college, was chosen by the Senate. When the Whig national convention met at Harrisburg in December, 1839, their sole object was to shut out Van Buren from re-election, and they adopted no platform of principles. Clay's course had offended some voters, and he was passed by as in the previous contest, and Harrison was again nominated. Tyler was added to the ticket to win support in the Southern States. Thus both candidates were natives of the same county in Virginia, and even agreed in their general political views, though these were at variance with those of the bulk of their supporters. A wild, uproarious campaign followed, in which the laboring classes first awoke to the potency of their votes. "Tippecanoe and Tyler too" were carried into power on the crest of the popular wave.

One month after his inauguration President Harrison died, and his constitutional duties devolved upon John Tyler. An extra session of Congress had already been called to meet May 31st, to consider and remedy the financial distress of the country. The Whigs had a majority in both houses, and Clay, their leader, had expected to carry out his American economic policy. Van Buren's sub-treasury system was abolished, but Clay's bill to establish a fiscal bank at Washington with branches in other cities was vetoed in August on the ground that Congress had no power to establish a bank in a State without the State's express consent. As the bill could not secure the two-thirds vote to over-ride the President's veto, a new bill was made to meet his views, but the change was more in name than in substance. The bill for a restricted "fiscal corporation" was passed by Congress and promptly vetoed in September. Five members of Harrison's cabinet,

who had still held their places, then resigned, but Daniel Webster remained in office as Secretary of State in order to carry on negotiations for a treaty with Great Britain. President Tyler promptly filled the vacancies. He was now alienated from most of the Whigs in Congress, but received support from the Democrats. In 1842 the contest was renewed about the tariff, and the President vetoed a bill for a protective tariff, but signed one which secured incidental protection. He refused to sanction a distribution of surplus revenue to the States. In 1844 President Tyler showed his view of internal improvements by vetoing a river-and-harbor bill for the Eastern States, but approving one for the Western States, on the ground that the Mississippi river was a great common highway for the commerce of the country, and hence a legitimate concern of the national government.

Webster having concluded the Ashburton treaty withdrew from the cabinet in 1843. A few months later the bursting of a cannon on the war steamer "Princeton," while returning from an excursion down the Potomac, killed Secretaries Upshur and Gilmer and six others. The President was in the cabin of the vessel at the time. Mr. Gardiner of New York was one of the victims. His beautiful daughter Julia, then twenty-three years of age, was soon afterwards married to President Tyler, whose first wife had died in 1842.

Upshur, as Secretary of State, was succeeded by John C. Calhoun, whose appointment was urged by Henry A. Wise of Virginia. Wise had long been the President's most trusted adviser, belonging to that school of Southern statesmen, that endeavored in every way to minimize the power of the Federal government. Calhoun had been the leading advocate of nullification, but his appointment would promote the annexation of Texas, which had been earnestly desired by the South. A treaty with the government of Texas was concluded in April, 1844, providing for annexation, but it was rejected by the Senate by a vote of 35 to 16. Before the close of Tyler's term, however, a joint resolution for annexation was passed by both Houses of Congress, with a proviso extending the Missouri Compromise line through the new territory, and prohibiting slavery to the north of that line. President Tyler

signed the resolution and notified the government of Texas on March 3, 1845. The strenuous advocate of strict construction dismissed his theory when it interfered with the supposed interests of the South.

In another way Tyler worked to secure Texas. A majority of the delegates to the Democratic Convention in 1844 were pledged to sustain Van Buren, but he had declared against immediate annexation. Tyler then called the friends of annexation to meet in advance. They did so and nominated Tyler for a second term. It became necessary, therefore, for the Democratic Convention to nominate a candidate who was in favor of annexation in order to hold the Southern vote. Thus James K. Polk was nominated, and a few months later Tyler withdrew at the request of a Democratic meeting which formally approved his administration.

Tyler retired to his estate of Sherwood Forest on the bank of the James river near Greenway. In January, 1861, he recommended a convention of Border States to devise some amendment of the Constitution to avert civil war. The legislature of Virginia enlarged this by summoning delegates from all the States. Twenty States were represented in the Peace Convention which met in Washington on February 4th, and chose Tyler as its president. But the measures submitted were a surrender to the demands of South Carolina. These amendments were promptly rejected by Congress. Even before this action Tyler advocated secession in the Virginia convention. In May when the Confederate capital was removed to Richmond, Tyler was elected to the Confederate Congress. He died in Richmond, January 18, 1862.

John Tyler, when he became President, was fifty-one years of age. He was tall and thin, with auburn hair which became white during his term of office. He belonged to the old school of Virginia gentlemen, courteous and hospitable, economical yet somewhat careless about his household appearance. Firmly convinced of the correctness of his own narrow views, he waited patiently for men and parties to come and join him, and was never disheartened.

How Calhoun was made Secretary of State.

Mr. Webster remained in the Cabinet until the Northeastern (or Maine boundary) question was settled, and as long as Upshur or Legaré was alive the Southwestern question was in safe Southern hands; but now that they were both away there was one man left who was necessary above all others to the South in settling and obtaining the annexation of Texas. We need hardly say that man was John C. Calhoun, of South Carolina. But we (Henry A. Wise) knew that for some reason of which we were never informed, the President was opposed to calling him to his Cabinet. . . . . The fact was known, and that caused us to be guilty of assuming an authority and taking a liberty with the President which few men would have excused and few would have taken. We thought of Mr. McDuffie, then in the Senate, and determined to act through him. . . . . Before breakfast, by sunrise the next morning, the 29th of February, 1844, we visited Mr. McDuffie's parlor. He was not dressed, but came down in his slippers and *robe-de-chambre*. We excused our calling so early by the exigency arising from the catastrophe on board the "Princeton," and immediately inquired whether Mr. Calhoun, in his opinion, could be prevailed on to accept the State Department with a view to the vital question of annexation. He admitted the magnitude of the interest involved, and how desirable it was to have it negotiated by Mr. Calhoun, but feared that he would not accept. We then urged him to write to Mr. Calhoun immediately, saying that his name would, in all probability, be sent to the Senate at once, and begging him not to decline the office if his nomination should be made and confirmed. Mr. McDuffie's delicacy towards us doubtless prevented him from inquiring whether we spoke by Mr. Tyler's authority or not, and we made no statement to him pro or con on that point, but presume he must have supposed that we were authorized to make the request, for he promised to write to Mr. Calhoun at once.

On parting from him we went directly to the presidential mansion to breakfast. At the gate of the White House grounds we met Judge John B. Christian, of Virginia, the brother-in-law of Mr. Tyler, and when we reached the house, found Mr. Tyler and Dr. Miller, another brother-in law of his, in the breakfast room. Mr. Tyler was standing with his right elbow resting on the mantel of the fireplace, and held a morning paper in his left hand, con-

taining an account of the awful catastrophe of the day before. As soon as he saw us he accosted us with tremulous emotion, saying how humbled he was by his providential escape whilst such invaluable friends had fallen from around him, and he turned his face to the wall in a flood of tears. We came to his relief at once by saying that it was no time for mourning or wasting himself in grief—that the moment called for prompt action and attention to duty, and that his work was pressing and heavy. It was an auspicious time, at least, to nominate for vacancies in his Cabinet, when the dignity and solemnity of public grief for so great a calamity would shame and hush all factious opposition, and human sympathy alone at such a moment would confirm the nominations he would then make to the Senate. There were too many important affairs to be disposed of in this last year of his term of office to admit of delay. He must subdue his grief and find relief, the best relief, in turning to his tasks. He asked at once, "What is to be done?" The answer was ready: "Your most important work is the annexation of Texas, and the man for that work is Mr. Calhoun. Send for him at once."

His air changed at once, and he quickly and firmly said, "No: Texas is important, but Mr. Calhoun is not a man of my choice."

Aided by Judge Christian and Dr. Miller, we reasoned with him, though in vain, until the bell rang for breakfast. At the table the conversation turned on the calamity of the previous day; and the President gave a minute description of the manner in which by the most trivial circumstance he had been detained in the cabin at the table with the ladies, whilst Stockton, Upshur, Gilmer, Kennon, Maxey, Gardner, and Benton, all went up on deck to witness the trial of the Peacemaker! During the whole breakfast we were exceedingly uneasy, thinking how we should prevail upon him to nominate Mr. Calhoun and justify us to Mr. McDuffie. Of this we were assured, that if Mr. McDuffie's letter reached Mr. Calhoun before a nomination was made, he (Mr. Calhoun) would decline the nomination, and thus waive our committal to Mr. McDuffie; but if Mr. Tyler should nominate before Mr. Calhoun replied, declining, then we would be in an awkward position, as having made an implied committal to his nomination. But "the policy of rashness" saved us, as it had often done before and has often done since, and sent in Mr. Calhoun's nomination. As soon as breakfast was over, we rose, hat in hand, to depart, went with some impressivness of manner directly up to Mr. Tyler, and said, "Sir, in saying good-morning to you now, I may be taking

a lasting farewell. I have unselfishly tried to be your friend and to aid your administration of public affairs, and have, doubtless, your kind feelings and confidence; but I fear I have done that which will forfeit your confidence and cause us to be friends no longer. You say that you will not nominate Mr. Calhoun as your Secretary of State. If so, then I have done both you and him a great wrong, and must go immediately to Mr. McDuffie to apologize for causing him to commit himself, and you too, by an unauthorized act of mine."

"What do you mean?" exclaimed the President, evidently disturbed.

"I mean that this morning before coming here, uninvited, to breakfast, I went to Mr. McDuffie and prevailed on him to write to Mr. Calhoun and ask him to accept the place of Secretary of State at your hands."

"Did you state that you went at my instance to make that request?"

"No, I did not in words, but my act, as your known friend, implied as much, and Mr. McDuffie was too much of a gentleman to ask whether I had authority express from you. I went to him without your authority, for the very reason that I knew I could not obtain it; and I did not tell Mr. McDuffie that I had not your authority, for I knew he would not in that case have written to Mr. Calhoun as I had requested. And now, if you do not sanction what I have done, you will place me where you would be loath to place a foe, much less a friend. I can hardly be your friend any longer unless you sanction my unauthorized act for your sake, not my own."

He looked at us in utter surprise for some minutes, and then lifting both hands, said, "Well, you are the most extraordinary man I ever saw!—the most willful and wayward, the most incorrigible! and therefore there is no help for it. No one else would have done it in this way but you, and you are the only man who could have done it with me. Take the office and tender it to Mr. Calhoun; I doubtless am wrong in refusing the services of such a man. You may write to him yourself at once."

We answered that we would do no such thing, for if Mr. Calhoun was given an opportunity to do so he would decline; and we therefore asked that his name should be sent to the Senate at once, when it would be confirmed, and then he could not decline. This was done; Mr. Calhoun's nomination was sent in and confirmed even before Mr. McDuffie's letter reached him. Thus was

that great and good man secured to the state, and we had the honor and satisfaction of serving under his wise instructions in the first year of our mission. He was the ablest executive man of his day; his forte was in the Cabinet, not in the Senate. He was pure and simple in heart as a child, and had no equal in mental abstraction. Mr. Tyler never had reason to repent our wayward procurement of Mr. Calhoun's nomination; and neither Mr. Calhoun nor Mr. McDuffie ever knew, so far as we are informed, how it was procured. The honor to Mr. Calhoun was that of having his name sent to the Senate without his knowledge or consent, and of having it confirmed without being informed even that it had been sent in. No Senate would have dared to reject his nomination.—HENRY A. WISE.

JAMES K. POLK.

IN the succession of Presidents of the United States two political dynasties are plainly marked. The dynasty founded by the sagacious Jefferson, and devoted to State rights, was continued by Madison and Monroe, fell away in J. Q. Adams, and was accidentally revived in Tyler. The dynasty founded by the imperious Jackson, faithful to the Union, but swayed by slave-holding interests, was continued in Van Buren, Polk, Pierce, and was brought to disastrous conclusion under Buchanan, killed by the desperation of its own efforts to win the mastery.

James Knox Polk was born in Mecklenburg county, North Carolina, on the 2d of November, 1795. The founder of the family in America was Robert Polk, whose ancestors were among the Scotch colonists of the North of Ireland in the seventeenth century. The name Polk is an Irish variation of the Scotch Pollock. Mecklenburg county was settled by Scotch-Irish immigrants, who were noted for their devotion to American independence. Samuel, the father of James, was a farmer, and in 1806, he removed to the valley of Duck River, in Tennessee. This region was soon erected into Maury county. Here the boy James assisted his father in farming and surveying. In 1815 he entered the University of North Carolina, and three years later graduated with high honor. He then studied law with Felix Grundy, was admitted to the bar, and began practice at Columbia. He was also active in politics, being a devoted follower of General Andrew Jackson. In 1823 he was elected to the Tennessee legislature, and two years later to Congress, in which he served fourteen years. He opposed the Panama Congress of Spanish-American States, proposed by President J. Q. Adams. In 1833, as chair-

man of the Committee on Ways and Means, he supported President Jackson's removal of government deposits from the Bank of the United States. In 1835, as a reward for his faithful support of the administration, Polk was elected Speaker of the House of Representatives. During the party conflicts of the time many appeals were taken from his decisions, but they were uniformly upheld by the House. In 1838 the Democratic party, having suffered serious reverses in Tennessee, nominated Polk as Governor, in order to retrieve its position. He was elected by a small majority in 1839, but was defeated in 1841 and 1843. At the National Democratic Convention at Baltimore in 1844, a majority of the delegates was pledged to the nomination of Van Buren, but as he had declared against the immediate annexation of Texas, an arrangement was made to defeat him by requiring the nominee to have two-thirds. Polk, who had been twice defeated in his own State, was merely a candidate for the Vice-Presidential nomination. He was requested to express his views, and replied: "I have no hesitation in declaring that I am in favor of the immediate re-annexation of Texas to the government and territory of the United States." He held that the country west of the Sabine River had been improperly ceded to Spain in 1819. This bold declaration secured for Polk the firm support of the Southern delegates, and eventually the nomination for President. In political slang he was the first "dark horse." Clay was the candidate of the Whigs, but was the victim of divisions in New York and gross frauds in Louisiana. In the electoral college Polk had 175 votes, while Clay had but 105.

Polk was inaugurated as President on March 4, 1845. His cabinet was formed of the ablest representatives of the Democratic party, Buchanan, R. J. Walker, Marcy, Bancroft, John Y. Mason, and Cave Johnson. By the doubtful means of a joint resolution Texas had been annexed in the closing days of Tyler's administration. There was a dispute as to whether the Rio Grande or the Nueces was its western boundary. President Polk ordered General Taylor to resist invasion by the Mexicans, and directed him to advance to the Rio Grande. On this disputed territory occurred the first battles of the Mexican war. Taylor then crossed the Rio Grande and occupied

the northern part of Mexico. Doniphan took possession of Santa Fé, Kearny set out for California; but Fremont, supported by the fleet, had already secured that country. General Scott landed at Vera Cruz, and after several obstinate battles captured the city of Mexico in September, 1847. Polk was dismayed when he found that the Mexican war had advanced the popularity of the Whig generals, and tried in various ways to offset it. By the treaty of 1848 a territory of 500,000 square miles was added to the area of the United States. Then followed the exciting political struggle over the admission of slaves to this region, in which slavery had been abolished by Mexico. In 1846 David Wilmot, of Pennsylvania, had offered a proviso that slavery should be forever prohibited in all the territory acquired from Mexico. The proviso was not adopted, but it became a bone of contention for many years.

The Mexican war was not thoroughly approved by the Northern States, because it was felt to be a movement for the extension of slavery. Congress was repeatedly urged to supply men and money to sustain the national honor. Under this plea, many contributed to what they otherwise disapproved. Both Daniel Webster and Henry Clay lost sons in this war. But ardent as the administration was for war in the Southwest, it repudiated its ante-election pledges in regard to the Northwest. There had been an urgent demand that the northern boundary of Oregon should be fixed at 54° 40′ north latitude in opposition to the British claim as far as the Columbia River. The Democratic rallying-cry had been "Fifty-four-forty or Fight." But Robert McLane, the Minister to England, accepted the compromise line of 49°, and the administration quietly assented.

In a similar way the promises made to secure the vote of Pennsylvania were broken when the low tariff bill of 1846 was passed in the Senate by the casting vote of Vice-President Dallas, of that State. The Independent Treasury system introduced by President Van Buren was restored, and has since been maintained by every administration. President Polk was a thorough-going party man, and devoted much time to the solicitors of patronage. In 1848 he offered the government of Spain $10,000,000 for Cuba, on which the slave-holders

had cast longing eyes. To gratify South Carolina, Polk removed F. P. Blair from being the editorial mouthpiece of the administration, in spite of Jackson's opposition to his friend's removal. Father Ritchie was brought from the Richmond *Enquirer* to establish the Washington *Union* as the new organ.

Polk was fifty years of age when he became President. He was spare in person, of medium height, with a small head, dark-gray eyes and firm mouth. He wore his hair long and brushed back. He was of strict moral character, ambitious of power, and adroit in politics. His arduous labors impaired his health, and soon after he retired from the Presidency he died at Nashville on the 15th of January, 1849. His widow survived him forty years. She was noted for courteous manners and many attainments. She was a strict Presbyterian, and while mistress of the White House held weekly receptions without refreshments or dancing.

MILLARD FILLMORE.

ILLARD FILLMORE was the second accidental President of the United States, succeeding to that position through the death of Zachary Taylor. His accession altered the tone of the administration, but not to the same extent as in the case of Tyler ten years before. Fillmore was a Whig, but though from New York, was more amenable to Southern influences than Taylor, a Louisiana planter, had been. Like other Vice-Presidents who have succeeded to the presidency, he failed to secure a subsequent nomination for a full term.

Millard Fillmore was born in a log cabin at Summerhill, Cayuga County, New York, January 7, 1800. The place was then a wilderness, the nearest neighbor's house being four miles distant. His education was limited, and he was apprenticed to a fuller. After serving five years at this trade, he made an arrangement to study law, and in 1821 went to Buffalo, where he labored hard to acquire knowledge. When admitted to the bar in 1823 he commenced practice at Aurora, his father's residence. During the excitement against the Free Masons caused by the abduction of William Morgan, Fillmore was active in the anti-Masonic party, and was elected to the State legislature in 1828. He drafted the act to abolish imprisonment for debt, which was passed in 1831. He had then removed to Buffalo, whose growing importance furnished a better field for his work as a lawyer. He was industrious, persevering and ambitious. In 1832 he was elected to Congress, where he opposed Jackson's administration and followed Clay in forming the Whig party. In the disputes over the

National bank Fillmore showed little interest, but he advocated internal improvements and a protective tariff. In the disputed election case from New Jersey, in 1839, involving five seats and the virtual control of the House of Representatives, Fillmore was the leader of the Whigs, who failed, however, to accomplish their purpose. In 1841, when the Whigs had secured a majority, Fillmore was made chairman of the important committee of Ways and Means. As such he was the author of the Protective Tariff of 1842, which was framed on thorough study of statistics of the imports and manufactures of the country. To him is also due the preparation of a digest of the laws relating to appropriations, and the system which has since prevailed of requiring all the departments of the government, when making estimates of expenses, to refer to the laws authorizing these outlays. After Fillmore retired from Congress he was the Whig candidate for Governor of New York, but was defeated by Silas Wright. In 1847 he was elected Comptroller of the State.

The Whig National Convention, in 1848, nominated General Taylor for President, and Fillmore for Vice-President. They were elected and inaugurated in March, 1849. A custom had grown up in the Senate of allowing unlimited liberty of debate, since J. C. Calhoun, when Vice-President in 1826, had declared that as such he had no power to call senators to order. But in the fierce debate on the question of slavery in the Territories, Fillmore declared his purpose to preserve order and to rebuke unparliamentary speeches. The Senate approved his determination and ordered his argument in support of it to be entered at length in the journal. While the controversy in regard to Clay's Compromise of 1850 was still raging, President Taylor died after a brief illness, and on July 10th Fillmore took the oath as President. The members of Taylor's cabinet resigned, and Fillmore appointed Webster Secretary of State, and Thomas Corwin Secretary of the Treasury. It was at once apparent that the new cabinet was of more pronounced Southern proclivities than the former. Senator Seward, the Whig leader of New York, had shown little regard for Fillmore while he was merely Vice-President, even disregarding his wishes concerning appointments at Buf-

falo, and now when Fillmore had real power, Seward lost his influence. Although Clay's "omnibus bill" was defeated, the new administration secured the passage of the several measures of which that bill was composed. They formed the Compromise of 1850, and included the Fugitive Slave Law, which was offensive to many persons in the North. When the execution of this obnoxious act was resisted in Boston, Syracuse and other places, the President issued a proclamation directing all officers to carry it out. Prosecutions were instituted against the rescuers of fugitive slaves, but they practically failed. In his message to Congress the President urged general compliance with the Compromise measures, but his course alienated a large proportion of his party in the North. His administration was also disturbed by a filibustering expedition from New Orleans to Cuba in 1851. Its leader, Lopez, and some of his men were seized and executed, and his vessel condemned and sold for violation of neutrality laws. When the Hungarian revolutionist Kossuth visited the United States to urge national intervention, in behalf of the patriots of his country, the President refused to act, though expressing sympathy with the oppressed.

In the Whig National Convention of June, 1852, the policy of Fillmore's administration was approved by a vote of 227 against 60; but on the first ballot for presidential nomination he received only 133 votes, while General Scott had 134 and Webster 29. On the fifty-third ballot Scott was made the candidate, but in the subsequent election he was defeated by Pierce. When the disappointed Webster died in October, 1852, Edward Everett succeeded him as Secretary of State.

After Fillmore retired from the presidency, he made extensive tours through the country and in 1855 went to Europe. While he was at Rome in June, 1856, he received word of his nomination as Presidential candidate of the Native American party, chiefly composed of Southern Whigs. The real contest lay, however, between the Republicans and Democrats, and Fillmore received only the eight electoral votes of Maryland. Thereafter he lived at Buffalo, till his death on March 8, 1874.

When Millard Fillmore became President he was fifty years old, of average height and large build. His face was broad

and florid, his eyes gray, and his hair white. He was courteous and dignified in manner. His impartiality in presiding in the Senate had won for him the favor of the Southern leaders, and as President he endeavored to secure their demands. Yet it was in his administration that the North began to be strongly anti-slavery, partly owing to the attempts to execute the rigorous Fugitive Slave Law, and partly to the publication of Mrs. Stowe's powerful story of "Uncle Tom's Cabin" (1852).

FRANKLIN PIERCE.

FRANKLIN PIERCE was the most courteous and kind-hearted President of the United States. He won the personal friendship of all with whom he came in contact. Coming from a State on the northern border, he had never given a vote or written a sentence to which the most extreme Southern statesman could object. To this fact he owed his election to the Presidency, and entering on its duties just after the Compromise of 1850 had brought repose to the country, it was his earnest desire and vain hope that the repose should not be disturbed during his official term. But he was destined to witness an embittered contest over the territories of Kansas and Nebraska, the bloody prelude to the Civil War.

Franklin Pierce was born at Hillsborough, New Hampshire, on the 23d of November, 1804. The family name is pronounced Purse. Benjamin Pierce (1757–1839) had been a captain in the Revolutionary war, and was Governor of New Hampshire, 1828–1832. His son, Franklin, was brought up to labor on a farm, yet received a collegiate education, graduating from Bowdoin College in 1824. Among his fellow-students were the poet Longfellow, Nathaniel Hawthorne, and Senator John P. Hale, his political rival. Pierce studied law and was admitted to the bar in 1827. Following the politics of his father, he was an ardent Democrat. In 1829 he was elected to the legislature and served four years, after which he was sent to Congress. Here he supported the administration of President Jackson, opposed appropriations for internal improvements and for the Military Academy at West Point, on the ground that a professional soldiery was a menace to the liberties of the people. His subsequent experience in the Mexican war led him to retract this opinion. In 1837 Pierce

was elected to the United States Senate, in which he was the youngest member, being barely of legal age when he took his seat. During his service at Washington, Pierce formed friendships with leading men from other States, which afterwards assisted him in reaching the highest national office. In 1842 Pierce resigned from the Senate and returned to the practice of law at Concord, the capital of New Hampshire. He still engaged actively in political affairs, but declined to be a candidate for governor and to enter President Polk's cabinet as attorney general. His chief rival was John P. Hale, who was elected to the Senate in 1846. Pierce's fondness for military affairs had been shown when he was a student at college, and when war was declared against Mexico he enlisted as private in a volunteer company. Soon he was appointed a colonel, and in March, 1847, received a commission as brigadier general in the volunteer army. He arrived at Vera Cruz at the end of June. After a toilsome march and harassing contests with guerillas, the brigade reached General Scott at Puebla, August 6, and joined in the advance on the city of Mexico. In the ensuing campaign General Pierce displayed courage, endurance, and regard for the welfare of his men. At the close of the war in December he returned home and was presented by the legislature of New Hampshire with a sword. In 1850 he presided in a State Constitutional Convention.

Although Texas had been annexed, and the Mexican war incurred for the express purpose of extending the area of slavery, the mass of the Democratic party in the North desired to exclude slavery from the newly acquired territory. This was opposed by Pierce who wished to conciliate the Southern leaders upon whom national preferment then depended.

In the Democratic National Convention at Baltimore in June, 1852, none of the prominent candidates, Cass, Douglas and Buchanan, was able to secure the necessary two-thirds vote. On the 35th ballot Pierce's name was presented, and on the 49th he was elected. The Whig party was hopelessly divided on the slavery question, and Pierce was elected over General Scott by 252 electoral votes to 42. The Free Demo-

crats had voted for John P. Hale, Pierce's old rival, but he did not obtain any electoral vote.

President Pierce was inaugurated March 4, 1853. In his inaugural address he maintained the constitutionality of slavery and the Fugitive Slave Law, and denounced slavery agitation. His cabinet was composed of able men, dominated by the ideas of Calhoun. W. L. Marcy was Secretary of State, Jefferson Davis, Secretary of War, and Caleb Cushing, Attorney General. It was the only cabinet in American history that remained unchanged for four years.

In order to divert attention from the vexatious domestic difficulties, President Pierce promoted a vigorous foreign policy and expansion of the national territory southward. From Mexico a large strip of territory, known as the Gadsden Purchase, was bought for $10,000,000. Koszta, a Hungarian refugee, who had declared his intention to become an American citizen, was rescued from an Austrian vessel at Smyrna, and the action fully approved by the administration.

Commercial reciprocity with Canada was agreed to in 1854. Commodore Perry's treaty with Japan opened the ports of that country to the commerce of the world. Serious trouble arose through enlistment in American cities of recruits for the British army in the Crimea, and President Pierce demanded the recall of the British minister; the difficulty was adjusted by negotiation. He vetoed bills for internal improvements and other purposes which he deemed unconstitutional. But considering that the institution of slavery was guaranteed by the Constitution he used the national power to protect it. For this purpose he directed the American ministers to England, France and Spain to meet and discuss the purchase of Cuba. This resulted in the "Ostend Manifesto," which declared that if Spain should refuse to sell the island, the United States would have the right to seize it. But the opposition of the European powers prevented anything being done.

The most important political measure of Pierce's administration was the repeal of the Missouri Compromise by the Kansas-Nebraska act, introduced by Senator Douglas. This

was signed by the President, May 31, 1854. It left the question of slavery in these territories to be decided by the actual settlers. This led at once to a struggle for the possession of Kansas between border ruffians from Missouri and immigrants from the Eastern States. The administration gave all its influence to the pro-slavery partisans and treated their opponents as rebels. The conflict filled Kansas with confusion and bloodshed and prepared the way for Civil War on a larger scale.

President Pierce had hoped to secure a renomination, but when the National Democratic Convention met at Cincinnati in June, 1856, Buchanan, who had been minister to Great Britain, had a majority of votes from the start, and on the 17th ballot was nominated unanimously. The President's last message to Congress was devoted to the troubles in Kansas and was intensely severe on the Free-State party. At the close of his term Pierce went abroad for three years. When he returned to his home at Concord he persisted in denouncing Abolitionism until the Civil War began. Thereafter he lived in retirement. He died at Concord, October 8, 1869.

Franklin Pierce was a handsome man, full of courtesy and kindness. He had a clear voice and was an impressive, persuasive orator both at the bar and in political assemblages. His public career was dominated by his belief that the Constitution had guaranteed to the slaveholders the legal right to their slaves, and that this guarantee was the bond of the national union. In order to preserve that Union he yielded to the growing demands of the Southern leaders and was destined to see his hopes blasted.

THOMAS H. BENTON.

FOUR noted American political leaders were born in 1782—two in the North, Daniel Webster and Martin Van Buren; two in the South, John C. Calhoun and Thomas H. Benton. The last, while true to the ideas of his native section, came to represent still more the westward expansion of the nation. He promoted the exploration and development of the country west of the Mississippi to the Rocky Mountains, and he urged the seizure of Oregon and the Pacific Coast. The merit of his proposals was obscured by the sectional disputes of the time, and their full value was hardly realized until the close of his career.

Thomas Hart Benton was born near Hillsborough, Orange county, North Carolina, on the 14th of March, 1782. His father, Colonel Jesse Benton, had been private secretary to Governor William Tryon, notorious for his persecution of the American patriots in the Revolution. Thomas was but eight years old when his father died. He studied for a time at the University of North Carolina, but soon removed to Tennessee. In that country, then a wilderness, his father had acquired a tract of 40,000 acres twenty-five miles south of Nashville. There, on the war-trail of the southern Indians, the widow farmed a settlement, afterwards called Bentontown. After years of hard work in clearing a farm, Thomas studied law, and was admitted to the bar at Nashville in 1811. He was also elected to the legislature, and introduced improvements in the state judicial system. In the war of 1812 he was an aide-de-camp to General Jackson, and raised a regiment of volunteers. His brother Jesse became involved in a quarrel with William Carroll, and a duel was arranged, in which Jackson was Carroll's second. Thomas took his brother's

part and quarreled with Jackson. On September 4, 1813, Jackson, with some friends, met the Bentons on the street in Nashville. The General struck Colonel Benton with a horse-whip. In the fight which followed Jackson was shot in the left shoulder and Jesse Benton was wounded with a dirk. The Bentons left Nashville. Thomas Benton, being appointed by President Madison a lieutenant-colonel in the United States army, went to serve in Canada. In 1815 he settled in St. Louis, practiced law, and founded a newspaper, which urged the admission of Missouri as a slave State. His career was interspersed with several duels, in one of which he killed his antagonist.

When Missouri was admitted to the Union by the famous Compromise of 1820, Benton was one of the Senators chosen to represent the new State. By his industry and intellectual force, his powerful physique and domineering manner, he soon became a leader in his party. To relieve the distress of the country and promote the settlement of the West, he urged new laws concerning the public lands. The chief features were that actual settlers should have a pre-emptive title, that the prices of lands long unsold should gradually be reduced, and that homesteads should be given to persons who would cultivate the land for a term of years. A bill for this purpose was introduced in 1824, and in successive Congresses. It slowly won its way to general favor until President Jackson embodied it in one of his messages and it was passed. Even before his appearance in the Senate, Benton had followed the initiative of Jefferson in urging the importance of exploring the Far West, and of securing possession of Oregon. Benton also advocated the promotion of overland trade with Mexico and of establishing forts for the protection of emigrants on the Oregon and Santa Fé trails. Scientific surveys of the West were carried out by his son-in-law, Lieutenant John C. Fremont, to the great advantage of the country. Benton showed some jealousy of the East, and took part in the Southern defamation of Massachusetts, which led to Webster's famous reply to Hayne.

In the struggle over nullification, Benton was a faithful follower of General Jackson. The early breach between them

was entirely healed. On the 8th of January, 1835, Benton presided at a banquet in Washington, and in giving his toast to the President congratulated the nation on the extinction of the national debt, then just accomplished. Senator Benton had already supported Jackson in his fight against the United States Bank. From careful study of financial matters he had come to the conclusion that the only safe currency for the government and the people is gold and silver. His elaborate speeches on this subject bristled with statistics and historical illustrations. They attracted universal attention, and won for the speaker the nickname "Old Bullion." They prepared the way for President Van Buren's independent treasury system. In the election the Democratic politicians promised the people "Benton mint-drops" instead of rag money. The action of President Jackson in removing the government deposits from the United States Bank was, at the instance of Clay and Webster, condemned by the Senate in a special resolution. But when in 1837 the complexion of that body was somewhat changed, Benton, as Jackson's vindicator, undertook to have the resolution expunged from the journal, and after a vigorous debate was successful. In 1844 Benton led the opposition in the Senate to the ratification of the Webster-Ashburton treaty which settled the Maine boundary.

President Polk had entered in office practically pledged to 54° 40′ north latitude as the northern boundary of Oregon, even at the risk of war with England, but Benton was now opposed to the increase of territory to the north, and supported the compromise of 49°. This policy prevailed, and the possession of the northern Pacific Coast as far as Alaska was yielded to Great Britain. On the other hand, looking southward, Benton insisted on a vigorous prosecution of the Mexican war, when President Polk, alarmed at the glory obtained by the Whig Generals, Taylor and Scott, inclined to a "masterly inactivity." As an alternative, the President proposed to confer on Benton the title of lieutenant-general, with full command of the war. But fortunately for all concerned, this hazardous experiment was abandoned.

The acquisition of new territory from Mexico gave further prominence to the question of the extension of slavery. The

Wilmot Proviso was introduced in 1847 to exclude slavery from this territory, which was already free under Mexican law. Calhoun insisted on the right of slaveholders to carry their slaves into all national territories. Benton, though representing a slave State, denounced Calhoun's State-rights resolution as a "fire-brand." The resolutions never came to a vote in the Senate, but they were sent to Benton's opponents in the Missouri legislature, who secured their passage as instructions to the Senators of the State without Benton's knowledge. Benton returned to Missouri in 1849 and canvassed the State in a vigorous campaign. Though his wing of the party had a plurality, he was defeated by a coalition of Whigs and anti-Benton Democrats. In 1851 he retired from ths Senate after thirty years' continuous service. In 1852 he announced himself a candidate for Congress and was elected to the House of Representatives. For a time he supported the administration of President Pierce, until he found that the Calhoun party had control. He opposed the Kansas-Nebraska bill, but was unable to prevent its passage. Defeated for Congress in 1854, he devoted two years to the completion of his "Thirty Years' View" (2 volumes), presenting a narrative of political affairs from the election of President J. Q. Adams. This was followed by "An Abridgment of the Debates of Congress" (15 volumes). It covered the period from the adoption of the Constitution to 1850. In 1856 Benton was a candidate for Governor of Missouri, but in spite of the enthusiasm of his friends, was defeated. In the Presidential election of that year he supported Buchanan in opposition to his own son-in-law, Colonel Fremont, on the ground that the latter was the candidate of a sectional party, whose triumph would have been a signal for disunion. Yet he did not altogether approve of Buchanan's course. He labored steadily at his historical work, dictating the last pages in whispers after he had lost the power of speaking aloud. He died at Washington April 10, 1858.

Thomas H. Benton was a large, stout man, with prominent features, black curly hair, and a powerful voice. In accordance with his mother's request, he abstained strictly throughout life from tobacco, liquors, and gambling. He was

married in 1822 to Elizabeth, daughter of Colonel James McDowell, of Virginia. She died in 1844, and after her death he was never known to visit any place of amusement. He carefully supervised the education of his four daughters, for whose sake he made Washington his chief residence. His home was one of the most delightful in the capital. Although prominent and dictatorial in party affairs, Benton was not a popular speaker. He was diligent and industrious, and possessed a powerful memory, but in debate he gave way to passionate outbursts which often defeated their own purpose. Much of his Senatorial work was given to the sectional disputes between North and South, but the most permanent results of his labors are seen in the exploration of the Great West, its preparation for the transcontinental railways, and the occupation of the Pacific Coast. In the city of St. Louis stands his monument, representing him pointing westward, while the pedestal bears his own impressive words: "There lies the East."

National Highway to the Pacific.

Mr. President, I go for a national highway from the Mississippi to the Pacific. And I go against all schemes of individuals or of companies, and especially those who come here and ask of the Congress of the United States to give themselves and their assigns the means of making a road and taxing the people for the use of it. If they should make it, they are to tax us for the use of it—tax the people eight or ten millions a year for using a road which their own money built. A fine scheme, that! But they would never build it, neither themselves nor their assigns. It would all end in stock-jobbing. I repudiate the whole idea, sir. I go for a national highway—no stock-jobbing.

We find all the localities of the country precisely such as a national central road would require. The Bay of San Francisco, the finest in the world, is in the centre of the western coast of North America; it is central and without a rival. It will accommodate the commerce of that coast, both north and south, up to the frozen regions, down to the torrid zone. It is central in that respect. The commerce of the broad Pacific Ocean will centre there. The commerce of Asia will centre there. Follow the same latitude across the country and it strikes the centre of the valley

of the Mississippi. It strikes the Mississippi near the confluence of all the great waters which concentrate in the valley of the Mississippi. It comes to the centre of the valley;—it comes to St. Louis. Follow the prolongation of that central line, and you find it cutting the heart of the great States between the Mississippi River and the Atlantic Ocean, Illinois, Indiana, Ohio, a part of Virginia, Kentucky and Pennsylvania,—they are all traversed or touched by that great central line.

We own the country, from sea to sea,—from the Atlantic to the Pacific,—and upon a breadth equal to the length of the Mississippi and embracing the whole temperate zone. Three thousand miles across, and half that breadth, is the magnificent parallelogram of our domain. We can run a national central road through and through, the whole distance, under our flag and under our laws. Military reasons require us to make it; for troops and munitions must go there. Political reasons require us to make it; it will be a chain of union between the Atlantic and Pacific States. Commercial reasons demand it from us; and here I touch a boundless field, dazzling and bewildering the imagination from its vastness and importance. The trade of the Pacific Ocean, of the Western coast of North America and of eastern Asia will all take its track, and not only for ourselves, but for posterity.

Sir, in no instance has the great Asiatic trade failed to carry the nation or the people which possessed it to the highest pinnacle of wealth and power, and with it, to the highest attainments of letters, art and science. And so will it continue to be. An American road to India, through the heart of our country, will revive upon its line all the wonders of which we have read, and eclipse them. The western wilderness, from the Pacific to the Mississippi, will spring into life under its touch. A long line of cities will grow up. Existing cities will take a new start. The state of the world calls for a new road to India, and it is our destiny to give it—the last and greatest. Let us act up to the greatness of the occasion and show ourselves worthy of the extraordinary circumstances in which we are placed by securing, while we can, an American road to India, central and national, for ourselves and our posterity, now and hereafter, for thousands of years to come.—T. H. BENTON.

ROGER B. TANEY.

ALREADY fifty-nine years of age when he was made Chief Justice of the Supreme Court of the United States, Roger B. Taney wielded the extensive power of his position for twenty-eight years, and during that time had great influence on the tendency of its decisions. Far from extending or exalting the power of the Federal Union as Marshall had done, he sought to protect the States in the full exercise of their reserved powers. Yet he did much to guide and regulate the wonderful material improvement of the country, due to the new applications of steam and various inventions.

Roger Brooke Taney was born on March 17, 1777, in Calvert county, Maryland. He was descended from an English Roman Catholic family, who were among the settlers of Maryland. In the faith which he had inherited he remained constant to the end. He graduated from Dickinson College in 1795, studied law at Annapolis and was admitted to the bar in 1799. He was also then elected to the State legislature from his native county as a Federalist, but when he removed to Frederick in 1801, he was defeated. His extensive and lucrative law practice carried him into courts of every kind, even into a court martial. In 1806 he married Anne Phebe Charlton Key, a sister of Francis Scott Key, the author of "The Star-Spangled Banner." Taney was a member of the State Senate from 1816 to 1821. In 1819 he defended Jacob Gruber, a Pennsylvania Methodist preacher, who had been indicted for preaching at a camp-meeting against slavery and thus inciting slaves to insurrection. In this trial Taney called slavery "a blot on our national character" and "a subject of national concern which may at all times be freely discussed." Taney removed to Baltimore in 1823 and soon became the

acknowledged leader of the State bar. In 1827 he was appointed Attorney General of Maryland, although his political views as a Democrat were opposed to those of the Governor. In June 1831 he was appointed by President Jackson Attorney General of the United States, and became the President's most trusted adviser.

The Bank of the United States had been re-established at Philadelphia in April, 1816, with a charter for twenty years. It had nineteen branches, which were afterwards increased to twenty-five. Nicholas Biddle became its president in January, 1823. It was charged with having used its influence against Jackson in his first term. Professor W. G. Sumner says, "The public deposits were banging about the money-market like a cannon-ball loose in a ship's hold." Taney, who dreaded a moneyed aristocracy, abhorred all alliance between the Government and the money-power as fatal to liberty and high civilization. When the question of renewing the Bank's charter came up in 1832, Taney wrote to Jackson, advising against it. He believed it had violated its charter and was corrupting the country. When Congress passed a bill for its renewal in July, Jackson vetoed it. Taney was the only member of the Cabinet that approved the message. A year later he went further and suggested the removal of the Government deposits. The President decided on this course, but Duane, then Secretary of the Treasury, declined to plunge the fiscal concerns of the country into confusion at a time when they were conducted by the legitimate agent with safety and regularity. He was then removed from office and Taney put in his place in September, 1833. His order was issued at once that after October 1st the revenues should be deposited in certain State banks. The deposits already in the United States Bank (about $9,000,000) were to be drawn out when needed for the use of the Government. A panic and general distress followed, which the friends of the Bank attributed to the administration, while its enemies insisted that it had produced the crisis by unnecessarily contracting credits for political effect. It is impossible now to decide the controversy impartially. The difficulties of the Bank increased until it collapsed. Its president and four others were crimi-

nally prosecuted. Biddle died insolvent and broken-hearted. The removal of the deposits was denounced at the time by Webster, Clay, Calhoun and all the Congressional leaders. The Senate rejected Taney's nomination as Secretary of the Treasury after he had held the office nine months. This was the first time that the Senate had ever rejected a Cabinet appointment.

Taney returned to his legal practice and received ovations from Jackson's partisans. The President did not forget his obedient servant. In January, 1835, President Jackson nominated Taney for a seat on the Supreme Bench, and the Senate postponed consideration indefinitely. But the President was not to be balked. After Chief Justice Marshall died, he nominated Taney as his successor. In spite of the opposition of Clay and Webster, Taney's nomination was confirmed on March 15, 1836. From this time his history is merged in that of the Supreme Court. His opinions, so far as political questions were involved, tended to support State rights and decentralization, thus taking an opposite direction from those of Marshall. From 1836 to 1861 his opinions as circuit judge were reported by his son-in-law, J. M. Campbell. His other decisions are in "Supreme Court Reports."

The most famous of his decisions was that in the Dred Scott case in 1857, from which only Justices J. McLean and B. R. Curtis dissented. The negro Dred Scott had been a slave, and had been taken by his master, Dr. Emerson, an army surgeon, to Rock Island in 1834, thence to Fort Snelling, and back to Missouri in 1838. He sued for his freedom on the ground of having been taken into Illinois, a free State. The case was carried to the Supreme Court on questions of conflict between the laws of Missouri and Illinois. The primary questions were as follows:—Could a negro, whose ancestors were imported from Africa as slaves, become an American citizen? and, Did the slave's residence in a free State render him free? Chief Justice Taney in his decision explained that it was not the province of the Court to decide on the justice or policy of the law, but simply to interpret and administer it. Nevertheless the opinion did travel beyond the legal issues involved and introduced this memorable

declaration about the status of negroes at the formation of the Union: "They had for more than a century been regarded as beings of an inferior order and altogether unfit to associate with the white race either in social or political relations; and so far inferior that *they had no rights which the white man was bound to respect*, and that the negro might justly and lawfully be reduced to slavery for his benefit." Although these words were rhetorical and not a legal conclusion, the decision was in keeping with them and denied Scott's citizenship and right to sue in the United States Courts. It also declared the Missouri Compromise unconstitutional, and virtually made slavery national. Taney's object was, undoubtedly, to put a stop to the anti-slavery agitation, by proving that slavery was imbedded in the Constitution, for which all citizens, except a few ultra Abolitionists, professed the greatest reverence. But the course of events carried the Northern people beyond that point. Their respect for the Constitution and for the Supreme Court was sadly shaken. They went back to the spirit of liberty in the Declaration of Independence. The Southern people, on the other hand, were delighted and became reckless. The difference between the two sections was brought to issue in the Presidential election of 1860 and decided by the Civil War.

When martial law was proclaimed in Maryland in 1861, Chief Justice Taney ordered the release of a prisoner seized by General Cadwalader, and denied the right of the President to suspend the writ of habeas corpus. In 1863, in a letter to the Secretary of the Treasury, he maintained that the act of Congress taxing the salaries of United States judges was unconstitutional. He died at Baltimore, October 12, 1864, and was buried at Frederick, Maryland.

Taney was an upright, kindly man, exemplary in his private life, inclined to fastidiousness in habit excepting that he was an inveterate smoker. He freed his slaves as soon as he inherited them, and pensioned the aged ones. In manner he was graceful and affable, yet dignified. His health was delicate and his temper quick, but by watchfulness he had acquired perfect self-control. He was very industrious, a close student and courageous in the expression of his opinion. He

had wider experience as a lawyer than any of his predecessors, but he was hardly ever out of his native region, and he held the limited views of his section, yet at times his views have great judicial breadth. The error which has tarnished his fame was due to an earnest desire to allay sectional strife, but the reaction against the means employed produced tenfold more trouble and disaster.

The Dred Scott Decision.

(March 7, 1857.)

From the consideration of questions such as ordinarily arise the Court glided at a single turn to the brink of a fearful precipice. No monitory shuddering warned them of impending ruin. The broad current of decision and of argument flowed on as usual, unbroken by hidden obstructions or whirling eddies, as smooth as the glassy surface of a descending stream upon the very edge of its fall. In a moment they became involved. The wild passions of the Kansas-Nebraska struggle had reached the Court. The agony of the conflict between slavery and freedom, which touched the tongue of Phillips with fire and raised the soul of Sumner to the stars, had wrapped them in its frenzy, and in a moment of bewilderment they believed that they had the judicial power to deal with a political and moral question, and by a judgment, which they vainly endeavored to induce the country to believe was not extra-judicial, to settle the most agitated question of the day. The judgment was pronounced, but was promptly reversed by the dread tribunal of War.

At the December term, in the year 1856, the case of Dred Scott, plaintiff in error, *v.* John F. A. Sandford, stood for a second argument, on two questions stated by an order of the Court to be argued at the bar. The first question was whether Congress had constitutional authority to exclude slavery from the Territories of the United States, or in other words, whether the Missouri Compromise Act, which excluded slavery from the whole of the Louisiana Territory, north of the parallel 36° 30′, was a constitutionally valid law. The second question was whether a free negro of African descent, whose ancestors were imported into this country and sold as slaves, could be a citizen of the United States, under the Judiciary Act, and as a citizen could sue in the Circuit Court of the United States.

The action had been brought by Scott in the Circuit Court of

the United States for the district of Missouri, to establish the freedom of himself, his wife and their two children. In order to give the court jurisdiction of the case, he described himself as a citizen of the State of Missouri, and the defendant, who was the administrator of his reputed master, as a citizen of the State of New York. A plea to the jurisdiction was filed, alleging that the plaintiff was not a citizen of Missouri, because he was a negro of African descent, whose ancestors were of pure African blood, and were brought into this country and sold as slaves. To this plea there was a general demurrer, which was sustained by the court and defendant was ordered to answer over. A plea to the merits was then entered, to the effect that the plaintiff and his wife and children were negro slaves, the property of the defendant. The case went to trial, and the jury, under an instruction from the Court upon the facts of the case that the law was with the defendant, found a verdict against the plaintiff, upon which judgment was entered, and the case was then brought upon exceptions by writ of error to the Supreme Court of the United States.

It is clear that the first question raised by the record arose under the plea to the jurisdiction of Circuit Court, and after a careful study of the opinions and dissenting opinions, it is equally clear that if it had been decided by the Supreme Court that Scott was not a citizen by reason of his African descent, the only thing that could be properly done would be to direct the Circuit Court to dismiss the case for want of jurisdiction, without looking to the question raised by the plea to the merits. But if the Court should decide that he was a citizen notwithstanding his African descent, then the question raised by the plea to the merits relating to his personal status as affected by his residence in a free territory and his return to Missouri would have to be acted upon. This latter question involved the Constitutional power of Congress to prohibit slavery in that part of Louisiana territory purchased by the United States from France, and also the collateral question as to the effect to be given to a resident in the free State of Illinois, and a subsequent return to Missouri. Upon an action brought in the State Court many years prior, the Supreme Court of Missouri had held Scott to be still a slave, upon the broad ground that no law of any other State or Territory could operate in Missouri upon personal status, even if he did become an inhabitant of such other State or Territory.

The case was first argued before the Supreme Court of the United States at the December term of 1855, and it was found,

after consideration and comparison of views, that it was not necessary to decide the question of Scott's citizenship under the plea to the jurisdiction, but that the case should be disposed of by an examination of the merits. Mr. Justice Nelson was assigned to write the opinion of the court upon this view of the case, from which, however, Justices McLean and Curtis dissented. The opinion prepared by Nelson, judging from its internal evidence, as well as the history of it given by him, was designed to be delivered as the opinion of the majority of the bench, and in disposing of the plea to the jurisdiction, he said: "In the view which we have taken of the case, it will not be necessary to pass upon this question, and we shall therefore proceed at once to an examination of the case upon its merits. The question upon the merits, in general terms, is whether or not the removal of the plaintiff, who was a slave, with his master from the State of Missouri to the State of Illinois with the view to a temporary residence, and after such residence and return to the slave State, such residence in the free State works emancipation." The opinion then disposed of the case upon the ground that the highest court in the State of Missouri had decided that the original condition of Scott had not changed and that this was a question of the law of Missouri on which the Supreme Court of the United States should follow the law as it had been laid down by the highest tribunal of the State. The conclusion reached by the opinion was not that the case should be dismissed for want of jurisdiction, but that the judgment of the Circuit Court which had held Scott to be still a slave should be affirmed. Shortly after this, however, a motion was made by Mr. Justice Wayne, in a conference of the court for a reargument of the case, and the two questions, which we have stated at the outset of our discussion of the matter, were carefully framed by the Chief Justice to be argued at the bar *de novo*. The cause was argued by Montgomery Blair and George Ticknor Curtis, in behalf of the plaintiff in error, and Reverdy Johnson and Senator Geyer, of Missouri, for the slave owner.

At the second argument Mr. Justice Wayne became fully convinced that it was practicable for the Supreme Court of the United States to quiet all agitation on the question of slavery in the Territories by affirming that Congress had no Constitutional power to prohibit its introduction, and, unfortunately for himself, his associates, and the country, persuaded the Chief Justice and Justices Grier and Catron of the public expediency of this course. The opinion of the Court was then pronounced by Chief Justice

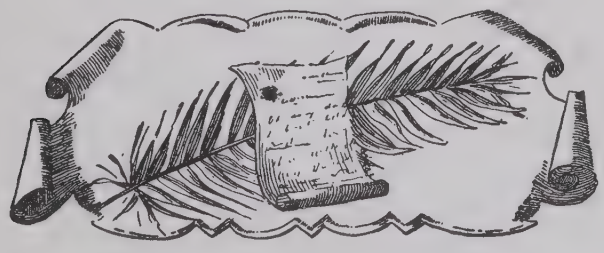
Taney, in which Mr. Justice Wayne absolutely concurred. Mr. Justice Nelson read his own opinion, which had been previously prepared as that of the Court. Mr. Justice Grier concurred in Nelson's opinion and was of opinion also that the Act of 6th March, 1820, known as the "Missouri Compromise" was unconstitutional and void, as stated by the Chief Justice. Justices Daniel and Campbell concurred generally with the Chief Justice, while Mr. Justice Catron thought that the judgment upon the plea in abatement was not open to examination in this Court, and concurred generally with the Chief Justice upon the other points involved. Justices McLean and Curtis alone dissented, the former stating that the judgment given by the Circuit Court on the plea in abatement was final. He was also of opinion that a free negro was a citizen, and that the Constitution justified the Act of Congress in prohibiting slavery, and further that the judgment of the Supreme Court of Missouri pronouncing Scott to be a slave was illegal, and of no authority in the Federal Court. . . .

No portion of Chief Justice Taney's opinion is more labored or constrained than the effort to show that, after disposing of the plea in abatement, which, when sustained as it had been upon demurrer, ousted the jurisdiction of the Court, the Court had still a right to enter upon a discussion of the merits of the case. And no part of the dissenting opinion of Mr. Justice Curtis is more powerful, from a legal point of view, than his consideration of the doctrines of pleading involved, and fairly arising out of the state of the record.

The Chief Justice used the following language, after having shown historically that at the time of the adoption of the Constitution of the United States free negroes were not citizens: "They had for more than a century before been regarded as beings of an inferior order, and altogether unfit to associate with the white race either in social or political relations; and so far inferior that they had no rights which the white man was bound to respect; and that the negro might justly and lawfully be reduced to slavery for his benefit. He was bought and sold, and treated as an ordinary article of merchandise and traffic whenever a profit could be made by it. This opinion was at that time fixed and universal in the civilized portion of the white race."

The injustice which has been done to Chief Justice Taney consists in the partisan use which was made of the single phrase, "That they had no rights which the white man was bound to

respect." The words were violently torn from the context of the opinion, and quoted as though the Chief Justice had intended to express his own individual views upon the question, naturally raising a storm of indignation at their inhumanity and barbarity. That such were not the personal views of the Chief Justice, no careful or conscientious student of his life can for a moment suppose; he had long before manumitted all his own slaves, had never refused his professional aid to negroes seeking the rights of freedom; had even defended a person indicted for inciting slaves to insurrection, at a time when the community were violently excited against the offender and against Taney himself for his defense, and, when pressed with the gravest business, has been known to stop in the streets of Washington to help a negro child home with a pail of water. He was, moreover, a man of the greatest kindness, charity, and sympathy. The real wrong-doing of which the Chief Justice was guilty was in attempting by extra-judicial utterances to enter upon the settlement of questions purely political, which were beyond the pale of judicial authority, and which no prudent judge would have undertaken to discuss. It was a blunder worse than a crime, from the consequences of which he and his associates can never escape.—HAMPTON L. CARSON.



JAMES BUCHANAN.

JAMES BUCHANAN, after many years of faithful if not brilliant service to his country, had the misfortune to be placed at the head of affairs when the nation was rapidly approaching its most dangerous crisis. His notion of his duty to the States and the Constitution prevented him from using vigorous measures to repress secession, and caused him to be thought to favor it. His fault lay in adhering to a theory whose futility had been proved by the course of events. He lived to see the rebellion crushed and a new order of national affairs begun.

James Buchanan was the son of a Scotch-Irish immigrant and was born near Mercersburg, Pennsylvania, April 23, 1791. He graduated at Dickinson College in 1809, and began the practice of law at Lancaster. After the capture of Washington by the British in 1814 he volunteered for the defence of Baltimore, and in the same year was elected to the legislature, and served two years. He had intended then to confine his labors to his profession, in which he had become prominent, but the death of the young lady to whom he was engaged led him to seek distraction in public affairs. He was elected to Congress in 1820, and served for ten years. In 1829 he was made chairman of the Judiciary Committee. His political views had been originally those of a moderate Federalist, but with the rise of General Jackson, he became a devoted follower of that leader of Democracy. In 1832 President Jackson sent Buchanan as minister to Russia, where he negotiated the first commercial treaty between the two governments. While he disliked the stifling atmosphere of despotism, he made a favorable impression on the Emperor. He returned in 1833, and a year later he was elected to the United State Senate, where he also served ten years. For most of the time he was a

leader of the administration party and chairman of the Committee on Foreign Relations. When a bill was presented requiring the President, when making a nomination to fill a vacancy occasioned by the removal of any officer to state the reasons for such removal, Buchanan opposed it as causing a waste of public time and entrenching on the rights of the executive. He supported President Jackson in his peremptory demand for the settlement of the French Spoliation claims. One of his ablest speeches was in support of Benton's resolution to expunge from the Senate's journal Clay's resolution of censure on President Jackson for removing the public deposits from the Bank of the United States. Another notable speech was Buchanan's defence of the President's veto power, when Clay attacked it, as exercised by President Tyler against a national bank.

In 1845 Buchanan was made Secretary of State by President Polk. During his incumbency of this office the Oregon boundary was settled, the war with Mexico was begun and successfully completed, and California was acquired. In 1849 the Whigs, having come into power, Buchanan retired to his estate called Wheatland, a few miles from Lancaster. In 1852 the prominent candidates for the Presidential nomination at the Democratic National Convention were Buchanan, Cass and Douglas. So intense was their rivalry that neither could safely be nominated, and Pierce carried off the prize. When the latter became President, he appointed Buchanan minister to England. There had arisen jealousies between the United States and Great Britain with regard to Central America, and the Clayton-Bulwer treaty of 1850, instead of settling these, had provoked a controversy. The Crimean war also brought up the question of privateers and the duties of neutrals. Buchanan maintained the right of privateering as held by the American government. By direction of President Pierce, Buchanan held a conference with Mason and Soulé, the American ministers to France and Spain, in regard to Cuba. They published the Ostend Manifesto, which declared that if Spain would not sell Cuba, the United States would be justified in seizing it, as necessary to their welfare. There had already been some disputes with Spain, but the attention of

the American people was drawn off by the home conflict in Kansas.

When Buchanan returned to the United States, his friends welcomed him with a grand reception at New York, which prepared the way for his nomination for the Presidency over Pierce and Douglas. The Republican party which had just been formed to resist the extension of slavery in the territories, nominated J. C. Fremont, and the Native Americans nominated Millard Fillmore. Though Buchanan did not have a majority of the popular vote, he was elected by 174 electoral votes to 114 for Fremont and 8 for Fillmore. Buchanan's long experience, upright character and conservative views assisted to win for him the victory in this troublous time. Immediately after his inauguration in March, 1857, the Supreme Court pronounced the decision in the Dred Scott case. Not content with denying the citizenship of Scott as a negro, which would have settled the case, it went on to pronounce the Missouri Compromise unconstitutional, to declare slavery a national institution, and that from the formation of the government the negro had no rights which the white man was bound to respect. The Dred Scott decision being really a political deliverance, intensified the bitterness between the North and South. The question remained, Is slavery national?

Lewis Cass was the Secretary of State in Buchanan's Cabinet, Howell Cobb Secretary of the Treasury, and Jeremiah S. Black Attorney-General. The trouble in Kansas continued. President Buchanan had appointed Robert J. Walker, of Mississippi, Governor of the Territory, and was determined that in order to satisfy the South, Kansas should be admitted as a slave State under the fraudulent Lecompton Constitution. But all his efforts were in vain. The Free State settlers had a large majority. In the Senate Douglas vigorously opposed the Lecompton measure, but it was passed only to be defeated in the House of Representatives. A compromise, proposed by W. H. English, of Indiana, passed both Houses, but was rejected by the people of Kansas. Finally, just before the Civil War, Kansas was admitted as a Free State. There was trouble also with the Mormons in Utah, where Brigham

Young refused to recognize the new governor sent by Buchanan. General A. S. Johnston was sent to Salt Lake City with an army, which restored order. Buchanan would gladly have given his chief attention to foreign affairs, with which he was familiar, and in which he maintained with some success the rights of the United States. But the public mind was fixed on the slavery question. The elections of 1858 showed the growth of the Republican party in the North and the solidifying of pro-slavery forces in the South. At the close of 1859 came the John Brown raid at Harper's Ferry, which seemed to Southern people to prove the existence of a vast conspiracy to produce a slave insurrection. The Democratic party was divided, and when its National Convention met at Charleston in April, 1860, it could not agree upon either platform or candidate. The extreme Southern delegates withdrew. Douglas did not secure the necessary two-thirds until an adjourned meeting was held at Baltimore in June. The seceders nominated John C. Breckenridge, who was Vice-President under Buchanan. When the Republican Lincoln was elected President in November, there was a vigorous movement for secession throughout the Southern States. President Buchanan in his message to Congress denied the right of any State to secede, but declared also that he had no constitutional power to coerce a State that wished to withdraw. South Carolina passed an ordinance of secession, and sent commissioners to Washington to demand the evacuation of the forts in Charleston harbor. Buchanan received them unofficially, but refused to recognize their mission. The Cabinet had been reorganized, and the President displayed more firmness in resisting Southern aggressions. But the departments at Washington and the army were demoralized by the withdrawal of Southern officers. The only forts left to the government in the South were Fort Sumter at Charleston and Fort Pickens at Pensacola. Buchanan retired on March 4, 1861, leaving the full burden of preserving the life of the nation to his successor. For seven years more he lived at Wheatland, making little comment on public affairs, though in 1866 he published a vindication of his administration. He died at Lancaster June 1, 1868.

James Buchanan was in person large and dignified, but carried his head somewhat on one side. He was courteous and polished in manner, and ready in conversation, but was reserved in talking on political questions. From early manhood he cultivated the acquaintance of leading men who might favor his Presidential aspirations. He was the only permanent bachelor among the Presidents. In conversing with ladies he tried to be facetious. His niece, Miss Harriet Lane, discharged admirably the duties of the mistress of the White House. Buchanan at one time described himself aptly as "an old public functionary." Better fitted for the Senate than for the Executive office, he might have been a capable President in ordinary times, but he failed in the grave responsibilities of a revolutionary period.

Buchanan's Defence.

In my annual message I expressed the conviction, which I have long deliberately held, and which recent reflection has only tended to deepen and confirm, that no State has a right, by its own act, to secede from the Union, or throw off its Federal obligations at pleasure. I also declared my opinion to be that, even if that right existed and should be exercised by any State of the confederacy, the executive department of this government had no authority under the Constitution to recognize its validity by acknowledging the independence of such State. This left me no alternative, as the chief executive officer under the Constitution of the United States, but to collect the public revenues and to protect the public property, so far as this might be practicable under existing laws. This is still my purpose. My province is to execute, and not to make the laws. It belongs to Congress, exclusively, to repeal, to modify or to enlarge their provisions, to meet exigencies as they may occur. I possess no dispensing power.

I certainly had no right to make aggressive war upon any State, and I am perfectly satisfied that the Constitution has wisely withheld that power even from Congress. But the right and the duty to use military force defensively against those who resist the Federal officers in the execution of their legal functions, and against those who assail the property of the Federal government, is clear and undeniable.

But the dangerous and hostile attitude of the States toward

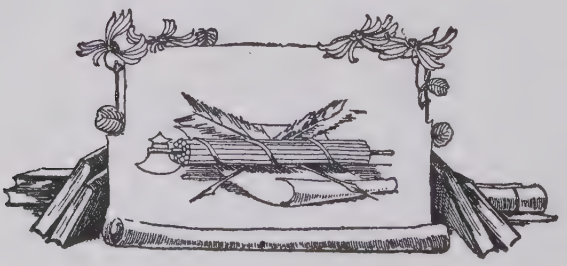
each other has already far transcended and cast in the shade the ordinary executive duties already provided for by law, and has assumed such vast and alarming proportions as to place the subject entirely above and beyond executive control. The fact cannot be disguised that we are in the midst of a great revolution. In all its various bearings, therefore, I commend the question to Congress, as the only human tribunal, under Providence, possessing the power to meet the existing emergency. To them, exclusively, belongs the power to declare war, or to authorize the employment of military force in all cases contemplated by the Constitution; and they alone possess the power to remove grievances which might lead to war, and to secure peace and union to this distracted country. On them, and on them alone, rests the responsibility.

The Union is a sacred trust left by our Revolutionary fathers to their descendants; and never did any other people inherit so rich a legacy. It has rendered us prosperous in peace and triumphant in war. The National flag has floated in glory over every sea. Under its shadow American citizens have found protection and respect in all lands beneath the sun. If we descend to considerations of purely material interests, when, in the history of all time, has a confederacy been bound together by such strong ties of mutual interest? Each portion of it is dependent on all, and all upon each portion, for prosperity and domestic security. Free trade throughout the whole supplies the wants of one portion from the productions of another, and scatters wealth everywhere. The great planting and farming States require the aid of the commercial and navigating States to send their productions to domestic and foreign markets, and to furnish the naval power to render their transportation secure against all hostile attacks.

Should the Union perish in the midst of the present excitement, we have already had a sad foretaste of the universal suffering which would result from its destruction. The calamity would be severe in every portion of the Union, and would be quite as great, to say the least, in the Southern as in the Northern States. The greatest aggregation of the evil, and that which would place us in the most unfavorable light both before the world and posterity, is, as I am firmly convinced, that the secession movement has been chiefly based upon a misapprehension at the South of the sentiments of the majority in several of the Northern States. Let the question be transferred from political assemblies to the ballot-box and the people themselves would speedily

redress the serious grievances which the South have suffered. But, in Heaven's name, let the trial be made before we plunge into armed conflict upon the mere assumption that there is no other alternative. Time is a great conservative power. Let us pause at this momentous point and afford the people, both North and South, an opportunity for reflection. Would that South Carolina had been convinced of this truth before her precipitate action! I, therefore, appeal through you to the people of the country to declare in their might that the Union must and shall be preserved by all constitutional means. I most earnestly recommend that you devote yourselves exclusively to the question how this can be accomplished in peace. All other questions, when compared with this, sink into insignificance. The present is no time for palliatives; action, prompt action, is required. A delay in Congress to prescribe or to recommend a distinct and practical proposition for conciliation may drive us to a point from which it will be impossible to recede.

A common ground on which conciliation and harmony can be produced is surely not unattainable. The proposition to compromise by letting the North have exclusive control of the territory above a certain line and to give Southern institutions protection below that line, ought to receive universal approbation. In itself, indeed, it may not be entirely satisfactory; but when the alternative is between a reasonable concession on both sides and a destruction of the Union, it is an imputation upon the patriotism of Congress to assert that its members will hesitate for a moment.—JAMES BUCHANAN.



LEWIS CASS.

MICHIGAN was a part of the Northwest Territory from 1787 to 1800, and then of the Territory of Indiana until 1805, when it was organized as a separate Territory. It was admitted to the Union as a State in 1837. No man was more prominent in its early political and social development and the regulation of its affairs than Lewis Cass. He was also prominent in national affairs down to the outbreak of the Civil War.

Lewis Cass was born at Exeter, New Hampshire, October 9, 1782. His father, Jonathan Cass, had been a captain in the Revolutionary army, and afterwards went as major with General Wayne in the war with the Indians in Ohio. His family in 1800 removed to Ohio, and settled on the Muskingum, near Zanesville. Lewis studied law with Governor Return J. Meigs, and was admitted to the bar. In 1806 he became a member of the Ohio territorial legislature. When attention was called to the suspicious movements of Aaron Burr on the Ohio River, Cass drew up the law under which the men and boats for Burr's expedition were seized. The Ohio legislature sent to President Jefferson a statement of its prompt proceedings, which received his warm approval. Cass was rewarded for his efficiency by being made U. S. Marshal for Ohio in 1807.

When the war of 1812 broke out, William Hull, a veteran colonel of the Revolution, was Governor of Michigan Territory. He was appointed general of the Army of the Northwest, and was expected to invade Canada, though the means for the adequate defence of Detroit, which he had repeatedly requested were not supplied. Cass was among the most ardent volunteers and was made colonel of the Third Ohio regiment.

He marched 200 miles through the wilderness to join Hull's army. When it crossed into Canada in July, Cass drew up the proclamation to the inhabitants, assuring them of protection, but threatening those who should be found fighting in company with Indians. Cass was still with the advance when Hull, finding his force outnumbered, and fearing that the Indians would be let loose upon the settlers of Michigan, surrendered to the British general Brock. Colonel Cass, released upon parole, hastened to Washington, and indignantly denounced Hull as a traitor. After being exchanged, Cass, now in high favor at Washington, was made colonel in the regular army. He raised a regiment in Ohio and joined the army under General W. H. Harrison. Cass was promoted brigadier-general March 12, 1813. He took part in the battle of the Thames, and after the recapture of Detroit was appointed by President Madison, Governor of the Territory of Michigan. The first thing to do was to treat with the Indians, who had been hostile during the war. There were probably 40,000 of them, while there were but 5,000 whites. During the eighteen years of his administration Cass managed Indian affairs with great wisdom. Twenty-two treaties were negotiated by which large tracts of land were ceded to the United States. Surveys were instituted, roads built, forts established, counties and townships organized. In 1820 Cass led a scientific exploring expedition with Indian guides to the shores of Lake Superior. Henry R. Schoolcraft, who accompanied it as a mineralogist, published a full account of it in his "Travels from Detroit to the Sources of the Mississippi" (1829).

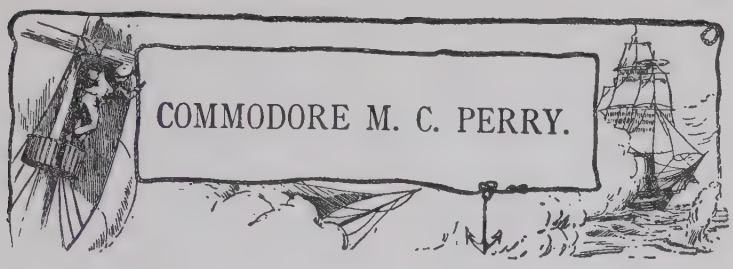
Having won distinction in his management of Territorial affairs, Cass was in August, 1831, appointed by President Jackson Secretary of War. The Black Hawk war was suppressed and the Cherokees removed from their hereditary lands in Georgia and Mississippi. This policy was in violation of the treaties with the Indians, but was demanded by the whites. In 1836 Secretary Cass sent to Congress a full report of the military and naval defences of the United States, and recommended the erection of coast defences. In the same year, on account of impaired health, he resigned his secretaryship, but was immediately appointed United States

minister to France. By vigorous measures he secured from that country $5,000,000 in payment of interest on the claims for French spoliations committed in 1798. In the spring of 1837 General Cass set out on a cruise of the Mediterranean, in which eight months were spent. On returning to France he resumed his ministerial duties. Great Britain in 1842 proposed to Austria, Russia, Prussia, France and the United States what was called the Quintuple Treaty. Its object was to suppress the African slave trade by treating it as piracy. General Cass objected to the treaty as involving the right of search to which the United States had always objected. His argument, published as a pamphlet, offended the English, but led France to hold aloof from the treaty. When the Ashburton treaty was negotiated, General Cass, thinking that the position he had taken was not properly sustained by Webster, then Secretary of State, engaged in controversy with him. The result was that Cass was recalled in September, 1842.

In 1845 Cass was elected to the United States Senate, in which he supported President Polk's policy and opposed the Wilmot Proviso. He held that Congress had no right to exclude slavery from the Territories, and set forth this view in a letter to A. O. P. Nicholson of Tennessee in 1847. On the strength of this letter Cass was nominated for the Presidency at the Democratic National Convention at Baltimore in May, 1848. He was now sixty-six years of age and had passed forty years in public service, thus gaining ample experience. He was doomed to disappointment, however, receiving but 127 electoral votes, while General Taylor, the Whig candidate, received 163. Before the election Cass had resigned his seat in the Senate, but soon afterwards he was returned to the same position. In 1852 he was again a candidate for the Democratic Presidential nomination, but the choice fell upon Franklin Pierce. In 1856 he declined to be a candidate and supported Buchanan for the Presidency. He was called to be Secretary of State in Buchanan's cabinet. He had consistently sustained the demands of the Southern leaders and he agreed with the President in denying that the Federal Government had power to coerce a State. But in December, 1860, when the President objected to reinforcing

Fort Moultrie at Charleston, Cass resigned. He retired to Detroit, where he died on March 17, 1866, after having witnessed the overthrow of the Rebellion.

General Cass became wealthy by purchasing in 1815 a tract of 500 acres, which was included in the city of Detroit. The increase of its value was due to his able management. Personally he was temperate and upright. In early life he was restless and enterprising. His interest in the Indians was shown in his "Inquiries Concerning the History, Traditions and Languages of the Indians" (Detroit, 1823). After his residence abroad he published "France, Its King, Court and Government" (1840). In national politics he took the Southern Democratic view, but always opposed secession.



IN accordance with their father's wish, five sons of Captain Christopher R. Perry entered the naval service of the United States, and won distinction in the old American navy. Oliver, in a brief but glorious career, obtained eminent fame. Matthew, in a longer service, did much to improve the navy by the introduction of new ideas, but is best known by his expedition which opened the hermetically sealed Japan to the outer world.

Matthew Calbraith Perry was born at Newport, Rhode Island, April 10, 1794. Entering the navy as midshipman in January, 1809, he served in the schooner "Revenge" under his brother Oliver. Afterwards he was with Commodore Rodgers. The first fight in which he was engaged was that of May 17, 1811, in which the commodore's flagship, the "President," shattered the British sloop of war, the "Little Belt," 22 guns. After war with Great Britain was declared in 1812, Perry was employed under Rodgers in commerce destroying. Being promoted lieutenant in July, 1813, he was transferred to the "United States," a new frigate built for Commodore Decatur. But he was doomed to inactivity, the vessel being blockaded at New London, Connecticut. On December 24, 1814, he was married to Jane Slidell, daughter of a wealthy New York merchant. For a few years he was engaged in the merchant service, but in 1817 he returned to government employ. Part of his time was spent on the west coast of Africa, and in 1819 in command of the "Cyane" he convoyed the first company of free negroes sent by the American Colonization Society to Africa. He assisted in establishing the Republic of Liberia, and selected the site of its capital, Monrovia. In 1822 he served under Commodore David Porter in ferreting out the

pirates of the Gulf of Mexico, and later went to the Mediterranean to protect American commerce from Greek pirates. There he assisted in the naval demonstration at Naples, which extorted from King Ferdinand II. payment of the spoliation claims. From January, 1833, he commanded the Brooklyn navy yard, and there organized the first steam service in the navy. The steamers built on plans which he urged were successful while others, whose plans he had condemned, were failures. In 1841 he was made commodore and later had command of the squadron which was engaged in suppressing the slave trade on the west coast of Africa. In the Mexican war Commodore Perry had charge of the steam navy, and assisted General Scott in the reduction of Vera Cruz. His naval brigade took possession of the Mexican Gulf ports. After this long and varied service came in 1853 his crowning work—the expedition to Japan, which he organized and commanded. In March, 1854, having secured admission to that exclusive empire, he signed a treaty of peace, securing protection to shipwrecked American sailors, and making a beginning towards opening the ports of Japan to American commerce. Perry by his persistency had first in his own country obtained the necessary fleet, and then by his impressive personality and prudent tact in dealing with the sensitive Japanese won a quick and lasting success without shedding a drop of blood.

On his return Commodore Perry was received with many marks of distinction. His report of the expedition was published in three volumes in 1856. It was accompanied by papers on special subjects and a preface by Rev. F. L. Hawks, D.D. Perry had contracted rheumatism while assisting in extinguishing a fire at Smyrna in 1825. From this complaint he suffered in later years, and finally died March 4, 1858, at New York. Commodore Perry's character was exemplary in all stages of his career. He was earnest, courageous, industrious, a devout Christian, strict in observance of Sunday, conscientious in the performance of all duty, acute in judging the characters of others. He impressed an ineffaceable stamp on the American navy by his example and achievements.

The Opening of Japan.

On Saturday, the 11th of February, 1852, the ninth day of the Japanese New Year, the watchers on the hills of Idzu decried the American squadron approaching. The "Macedonian" had grounded on the rocks a few miles from Kamakura, the medieval capital of the Minamoto Shō-guns. The powerful "Mississippi," which had extricated and saved from utter loss during the Mexican war the fine old frigate "Germantown" from a similar peril, easily drew off the "Macedonian" on Sunday, the 12th. On Monday, the 13th, amid all the lavish splendors of nature, for which the scenery of Adzuma, as poets call eastern Japan, is noted, the stately line of ships, the sailers towed by the steamers, moved up the bay,

> "With all their spars uplifted,
> Like crosses of some peaceful crusade."

The superb panorama that unfolded before the eyes from the decks charmed all eyes. Significant and portentous seemed the position of the lights of heaven on that eventful day. To the west of the peerless mountain Fuji, "the moon was setting sharply defining one side with its chill cold rays." In the orient, the sun arising in cloudless radiance burnished with brilliant glory the lordly cone as it swelled to the sky. Did the natives recall their poet's comparison and contrast of "the old sage, grown sad and slow," and "the youth" who "new systems, laws and fashions frames?" The moon typified Old Japan ready to pass away, the sun heralded the New Japan that was to be. Matthew Perry was set for the rising and fall of many in the then hermit land.

Passing Uraga and Perry Island, the seven vessels dropped anchor at the "American anchorage," not far from Yokosŭka, and not far off the place, called in Japanese, Koshiba-ōki (the little grass plot looking out on the far-off sea). The Commodore, still mysterious, invisible and unapproachable, had again outflanked the wily Orientals with their own weapons and turned their heavy guns against themselves. The mystery play was kept up in a style that exceeded that of either Kiōto or Yedo. The naval generalissimo remained in the Forbidden Interior of his cabin as if behind bamboo curtains.

Kurokawa Kahéi and his two interpreters were received with excruciating politeness by Captain Adams, assisted by Messrs.

Portman, Williams and the Commodore's son. In the delegation of official men were *ometsukes* (spies). These suggested that the negotiations should be carried on at Kamakura or Uraga. The programme, foreshadowed by answers to their questions, was an American advance on that of the previous year. The "Admiral" would do no such thing. It must be near the present safe anchorage. All the visits, conferences, discussions, presents, bonbons, oranges and confectionery, offers of eggs, fish and vegetables were impotent to alter the fiat of the Invisible Power in the cabin.

For the benefit of the United States and the civilized world, the survey boats were out daily making a map of the bottom of the bay. No boat's crew were allowed to land. No native was in any way injured in person or property. The visitors received on deck refreshments, champagne, sugared brandy, port and politeness in profusion. Of information concerning the invisible "Admiral's" policy, save as His Invisibility allowed it, they received not a word.

Several days passed, the broad pennant was transferred to the "Powhatan," and the Japanese were given till the 21st to make up their minds. Captain Adams was sent to Uraga to inspect the proposed place of anchorage. He decided that the building proposed for treaty negotiations was "for simple talk large enough, but not for the display of presents." Kurihama was then suggested. "No, the Admiral would rather go to Yedo." "No, no! better go to Kanagawa, but do *please* go back to Uraga." This was the simple substance of much conversation carried on in Japanese, Dutch and English, with not a little consumption of paper, India ink and Chinese characters. The one word of Perry and Adams was "Yedo." The tongues of the interpreters, or in Japanese, "word-passers," grew weary, yet no backward step was taken.

Meanwhile, on the 24th, Perry moved his six ships forward up the bay ten miles, anchoring beyond Kanagawa. From the masthead the huge temple-gables, castle-towers, fire lookouts and pagodas of Yedo could be easily seen, and the bells of Shiba and Asakusa heard. More exactly, the anchorage was off Dai-shi-gawara, a lovely meadow (*wara*) named in honor of Japan's greatest medieval scholar, His Most Exalted Reverence, Kobo, the inventor of the Japanese alphabets, learned in Chinese and Sanskrit, and the Philo of the Land of the Gods. He it was who absorbed Shinto, the primitive religion, into the gorgeous cult of India,

and made Buddhism triumphant in all Japan. Another happy omen for Perry!

The "Vandalia's" boats now brought Hayashi's letter to Perry, and Yezaemon, the interpreter, came nominally to plead again for Uraga, but in reality to accede to the American's decision. A fleet messenger, riding hard on relays of horses had brought the word to Hayashi—"If the American ships come to Yedo, it will be a national disgrace. Stop them, and make the treaty at Kanagawa." As Perry writes, "Finding the Commodore immovable in his purpose, the pretended ultimatum of the Japanese commissioners was suddenly abandoned, and a place directly opposite, at Yokohama, was suggested as the place of treaty."

The official buildings and enclosures finished March 9th, were erected on the grounds now covered by the British Consulate, the Custom House, the American Union Church and two streets of the modern city.

The morning of March 8th, 1854, dawned clear and beautiful. The bay was alive with gorgeous state barges, swift punts, and junks with tasseled prows. On land, in the foreground were a few hundred feudal retainers in gay costumes, while on the bluffs beyond stood dense masses of spectators. These were kept back with rope barriers and by petty officials of prodigious self-importance. The sunbeams glittered on the bare heads and freshly-pomatumed top-knots of country-folk, and was reflected dazzlingly from lacquered hats and burnished weapons. In the variegated paraphernalia of feudalism,—then of such vast importance, but now as cast-off trumpery transmigrating through the parlors and museums to dusty nirvana in the garrets of Christendom,—could be distinguished the insignia of the commissioners and feudal lords, whose troops darkened the hill tops as spectators. The striped oval figure of Hayashi; the five discs surrounding a smaller central dot like satellites about Jupiter, belonging to Ito; the feminine millinery, three curved women's hats, of Isawa; the revolving discs suggesting a wind-mill, of Tsudzuki; the three Euclid-recalling cubes of Udono; the ring-enclosed goggle-spectacles of Takénouchi; appeared and reappeared on banner, umbrella, hat, coat, and cover of dignitaries and retainers. Many and various were the explanations offered by Americans as to the cabalistic meaning of these crests of Japanese heraldry.

With five hundred men landed in twenty-seven boats, each

one, including musicians, thoroughly well armed, the marines forming a hollow square, the Paixhans on the "Macedonian," and the howitzers in the boats, making fire, flame, thunder, and echoes; with all possible fuss, parade, shine and glitter, the sailor-diplomatist made disembarkation at noon, in his white gig from the "Powhatan." With due deliberation and stately march, he entered the treaty-house, where negotiations began. The Commodore knew, as he confessed, "the importance and moral influence of such show upon so ceremonious and artificial a people as the Japanese." Without being at all anxious to imitate or copy them, he yet impressed them amazingly. How he came to know so much about etiquette and propriety, without having lived in Kiōto, or studied Confucius or Ogasawara (the Chesterfield of Japan), strained their wits to discover.

The tedious business of diplomacy began by interchange of notes and answers. Then Hayashi remarked that attention would be given to the supply of wood, coal and water for needy ships and to the care of shipwrecked sailors, but that no proposition for trade could be allowed. To this Perry made no reply, but spoke up suddenly upon the question of burial. A marine on the "Mississippi" named Williams had died two days previously and it was proposed to bury him on Matsushima (Pine Isle), or Webster's Island. After private conferences by the Japanese in another room, exchange of much sentiment on both sides and an exposition of Japanese law and custom by Hayashi—during which Perry intimated his readiness to stay in the bay a year or two if necessary—permission was granted to bury in one of the temple grounds at Yokohama. Thus began with Christian ceremonies, under the very shadow of the edicts promulgated centuries before, denouncing "the Christian criminal God," with offer of gold to informers against the "outlawed sect," that God's acre now so beautiful. Its slope was to fatten with many a victim by the assassin's sword before Japan should become a land of great peace either to the alien or the Christian.

The native scribe adds in a note to his *Record*, "This subject was brought up suddenly, as if the American wished to find out how quickly we were in the habit of deciding questions. Hence the commissioners made their decision promptly. Thereupon Perry seemed to be very glad and almost to shed tears." In response to the commodore's assertion that to esteem human life as very precious was the first principle of the United States government, while the contrary was the case with that of Japan, Haya-

shi answered, warmly defending his countrymen and superiors against intentional cruelty, but denouncing the lawless character of many of the foreign sailors. Like all Japanese of his school and age, he wound up with a panegyric of the pre-eminence of Japan above all nations in virtue and humanity, and the glory and goodness of the great Tokugawa family which had given peace to the land during two centuries or more.

In the further negotiations, the Japanese official account of which agrees with the details given in Perry's own narrative, the commodore made wholesome use of the fears of the islanders. The reputation of American ships, ordnance and armies had preceded him. The invaders of Mexico were believed fully when the wealth, power and rapidity of movement possessed by the United States were dilated upon. Perry threatened to make use of "the resources of civilization" if the plain demands of humanity were ignored. It is more than probable that cold statistics would not have justified his glowing vision of fifty or a hundred war-steamers, full of soldiers, coming from California to make war on Japan, in case her government refused to help shipwrecked Americans. Yet, of his patience, persistency and resolve neither to provoke nor to take an insult, there can be no question. Perry, in person, impressed the Japanese commissioners as much as by the fleet itself. They noted, as the *Record* declares, that Captains Adams, Abbot and Buchanan, as shown by their uniforms and epaulettes, were of the same rank, "so that if Perry were killed either of the others could command" and continue the matter in hand.

The *Record* also reflects the character of Perry as a man of kindly consideration. His friendly regard for and sympathy with a people of high and sensitive spirit, which had been weakened by centuries of enforced isolation, is also witnessed to. In one sense the Japanese feel, to this day, proud to have been put under pressure by so true a soldier and so genuine a friend.

Between ship and shore, during the blustering of March weather, the commodore made many trips in his barge, accompanied by chosen officers. One day, with Pay-director J. G. Harris, who relates the incident, Perry and his companions entered the treaty-house. Their boat-cloaks, which they had worn to protect the "bright-work" of epaulettes, buttons and belt from the salt spray, were still over their shoulders. One of the first questions asked the Japanese commissioners was whether they

had favorably considered the proposition of the day before, that certain ports should be opened.

Hayashi replied that they had pondered the matter, and had concluded that Shimoda and Hakodate should be opened, provided that the Americans would not travel into the interior further than they could go and return in the same day; and provided, further, *that no American women should be brought to Japan.*

When the translation of Hayashi's reply was announced the commodore straightened up, threw back his boat-cloak and excitedly exclaimed, "Great Heavens, if I were to permit any such stipulation as that in the treaty when I got home *the women would pull out all the hair out of my head.*"

The Japanese fairly trembled at the Commodore's apparent excitement, supposing they had grossly offended him. When, however, explanation was made by the interpreters, they all laughed right heartily, and the business continued.

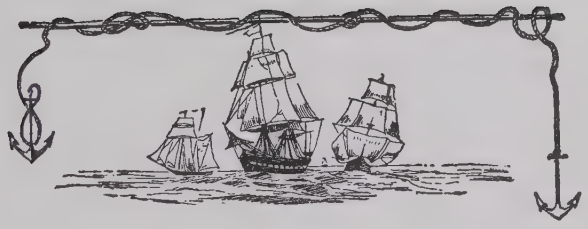
The Ninth Article or the "favored nation" clause was introduced at the suggestion of Dr. S. Wells Williams.

The treaty was signed March 31, 1854. Its provisions are thus given by a Japanese author:—"The Bakafu promised to accord kind treatment to the ship-wrecked sailors, permission to obtain wood, water, coal, provisions and other stores needed by ships at sea, with leave also to anchor in the ports of Shimoda in Idzu and Hakodaté in Matsumaë." Trade and residence were not yet secured. "The hermit" was as yet unwilling to enter "the market-place." The gains by treaty did not seem great, but Perry knew then, as we know more fully now, that the thin end of a great wedge had been inserted in the right place. He had made a beginning which was half the end, as we shall see farther on.

The sleeping princess had received her first kiss, and the gates of Thornrose castle would soon fly open. They were now ajar. More than one native of this "Princess Country" recall the hiding of the Sun-goddess in the cave, and how with music and dance, feast and frolic, and show of cunning inventions exciting her curiosity, she was lured to peep out, so that the strong-handed god could open the door fully and all faces become light with joy.

Moving his steamers up the bay to within sight of Yedo, the Commodore left on the 18th of April for Shimoda, having sent the sailing ships ahead for survey. For nine weeks he had held

in leash his two thousand or more ship's people, and had impressed the Japanese with the decency and dignity of the American sailor's behavior. Grand as was the triumph he accomplished in diplomacy, his victory in discipline seems equally praiseworthy and remarkable.—W. E. GRIFFIS.



ADMIRAL D. D. PORTER.

THERE have been but three admirals in the history of the American Navy. Farragut, the hero of Mobile bay, was the first; D. D. Porter, the creator of the Mississippi gunboats was the second, and then Congress abolished the office as too exalted for the diminished navy. But the splendid achievements of George Dewey in Manila Bay caused its revival in 1898.

David Dixon Porter belonged to a family of famous sailors. His father was Commodore David Porter, who made the "Essex" a name of terror to British commerce in 1813. The son was born at Chester, Pennsylvania, on June 8, 1813; and studied at Columbian College in Washington. In 1824 the boy accompanied his father in the expedition to the West Indies to suppress piracy. In the war between Mexico and Spain young Porter was made a midshipman in the Mexican navy and served under his cousin, Captain David H. Porter, in the brig "Guerrero" which sailed from Vera Cruz in 1827. A few weeks later, in a battle with a Spanish frigate of 64 guns, the "Guerrero," which had but 22, was defeated and her commander killed. In February, 1829, young Porter was appointed a midshipman in the United States Navy, and was attached to the frigate "Constellation," which cruised in the Mediterranean. Later he was engaged in coast survey duty, and in 1841 returned to the Mediterranean on the frigate "Congress." After five years of sea service he was sent to the Naval Observatory at Washington, and during the war with Mexico he was actively engaged at the naval rendezvous at New Orleans and in attacks on Vera Cruz, Tampico and other Mexican ports. On the return of peace he was

again attached to the Coast Survey. After the discovery of gold in California, he obtained leave of absence and took command of mail steamers running from New York to the Isthmus of Panama.

At the beginning of the Civil War Lieutenant Porter was advanced to the rank of commander, and was assigned to the steam side-wheeler "Powhatan," 11 guns, which was sent to the relief of Fort Pickens, Florida. Afterwards a mortar fleet of twenty-one schooners was organized under his direction to take part in Farragut's expedition against New Orleans. On April 11, 1862, the mortars opened fire on Forts Jackson and St. Philip, and maintained a continuous bombardment for six days and nights. Farragut having destroyed the Confederate fleet of fifteen vessels, left the reduction of the forts to Commander Porter, and they surrendered on April 28th. Porter then assisted in the operations on the Mississippi as far as Vicksburg, where he bombarded the forts and enabled the transport fleet to pass in safety.

In July, 1862, Commander Porter, with his mortar flotilla, was ordered to Fortress Monroe. But in September he was sent as Acting Rear Admiral to organize a Mississippi squadron. A navy yard was improvised at Mound City, and 125 vessels, mostly river steamboats, protected with iron plates, were got ready for service. They had 1,300 officers, only twenty-five of whom had been in the navy, but under Porter's admirable discipline and inspiring example, these inexperienced officers soon became efficient. In co-operation with General Sherman's army, Porter captured Arkansas Post in January, 1863. He ran past the batteries of Vicksburg and captured the Confederate forts at Grand Gulf. The fleet enabled General Grant to place his army in the rear of Vicksburg in May. Porter, for his services in the siege and capture of Vicksburg, received the thanks of Congress and the commission of Rear-Admiral.

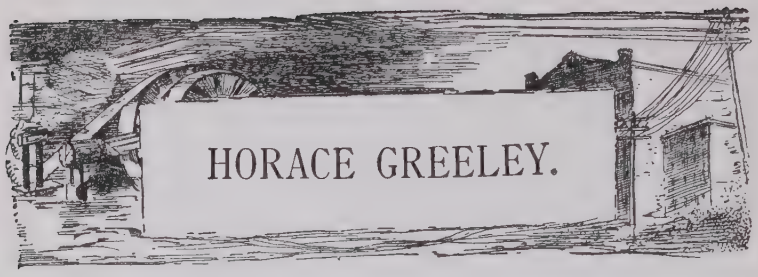
General Grant testified that "the navy under Porter was all it could be during the entire campaign. Without its assistance the campaign could not have been successfully made with twice the number of men engaged. . . . The most perfect harmony reigned between the two arms of the service."

On August 1, 1863, Porter reached New Orleans in his flagship "Blackhawk." For the remainder of the year he was busy in keeping the Mississippi open to Union vessels. In the Spring of 1864 Porter was called to assist General N. P. Banks in the Red River expedition. The fleet was nearly grounded in the stream, and was only saved by the ingenious expedients of Lieutenant Colonel Joseph Bailey. In October, 1864, Admiral Porter was transferred to the North Atlantic squadron. One object desired was the reduction of Fort Fisher which commanded the entrance to Wilmington, North Carolina. It was proposed to effect this by a combined land and naval expedition, under General B. F. Butler and Admiral Porter. Butler had suggested filling a transport with powder and towing it close to the fort there to be exploded. Porter acquiescing, the plan was carried out. Porter's fleet consisted of 35 regular cruisers, 5 iron-clads, and a reserve of 19 vessels. After various delays, owing chiefly to storms, the fleet reached the fort on the night of December 23d, the powder boat was exploded 500 yards from the shore and did no damage. On the next day the fleet commenced a bombardment which silenced the fort and batteries. General Butler's troops advanced close to the fort, but found it substantially uninjured and were ordered to retire. Butler determined to return to Hampton Roads, though Porter entreated him to remain. A new arrangement was afterwards made, and the fort was captured on January 15th, by General A. H. Terry, with a combined force of soldiers, sailors and marines.

At the close of the war Rear Admiral Porter was relieved of command of the North Atlantic Squadron at his own request, and went to Europe. When he returned he was made superintendent of the Naval Academy at Annapolis, and in July, 1866, was promoted Vice-Admiral. In 1869 when General Grant became President, Porter was called to Washington, and under Secretary Borie practically directed the entire Naval Department. On the death of Farragut, Porter became Admiral on August 15, 1870. He devoted himself zealously to maintaining the honor of the American flag and the protection of American citizens in all parts of the world. For this purpose he insisted that it was necessary to keep up the efficiency of

the navy in men and guns. He was also possessed of literary inclination and taste, and employed part of his time in authorship. His biography of his father was published in 1875, then followed a romance, "Allan Dare and Robert le Diable," 1885, "Incidents and Anecdotes of the Civil War," 1885, "Harry Marline," 1886, and a "History of the Navy in the War of the Rebellion," 1887. He died at Washington on the 13th of February, 1891, and was interred in Arlington Cemetery.

Admiral Porter was vivacious and prompt in speech and acting. Though usually genial and affable, he had some sharp quarrels even with his friends. One of his serious controversies was with General Grant, who yet always bore warm testimony to his ability and patriotism. His career sustained and advanced the reputation of the American fighting sailor.



"OUR later Franklin" was Whittier's calm estimate of the leading American journalist of the middle of the nineteenth century. In a larger, wider, more varied world than that of his many-sided predecessor, Horace Greeley exhibited a similar character as a director of popular thought, though he accomplished less as a man of action. How clearly is his own career expressed in his dedication of his "Recollections of a Busy Life:"—"To our American boys, who, born in poverty, cradled in obscurity, and early called from school to rugged labor, are seeking to convert obstacle into opportunity, and wrest achievement from difficulty."

Horace Greeley was born at Amherst, New Hampshire, February 3, 1811. He was descended from the Scotch-Irish settlers. His father, Zaccheus Greeley, a small farmer, was driven from home to escape arrest for debt, lost his farm and became a day-laborer at West Haven, Vermont. Horace, weak in physical constitution, early showed mental power, and could read before he could talk plainly. At the common school, where he received his only education, he was foremost in the spelling-match. At the age of fourteen he entered a village printing office as an apprentice. He dressed cheaply and gave almost all his earnings to his family. When his father removed to Erie, Pennsylvania, Horace in 1830 went to help him in the new settlement. But in the next year he set out for New York city by way of the Erie canal. He had

but ten dollars; his shabby dress and grotesque appearance hindered him in obtaining employment, though he was above the average journeyman printer. After fourteen months' experience in several newspaper offices, he joined with Francis V. Story in an attempt to establish a penny daily paper, but it failed in three weeks and they became job printers. Greeley's inclination to journalism could not be repressed, and on March 22, 1834, with another partner, he began to issue *The New Yorker*, a literary weekly. One hundred copies of the first issue were sold, and by the end of a year the sale had reached 2,500. Though the circulation continued to increase, the publication still involved loss. But the editor's ability became so manifest that in 1838 he was selected by William H. Seward and Thurlow Weed to conduct *The Jeffersonian*, a Whig campaign paper at Albany. This still further extended his reputation as a writer for the plain people.

In 1840 Greeley took advantage of the nomination of General W. H. Harrison for the Presidency to issue a new campaign paper called *The Log Cabin*. Of the first number 48,000 copies were sold, and the weekly issue soon exceeded 80,000. Though an aggressive political paper, it refrained from attacks on the personal character of the candidates it opposed. After the campaign had closed in a Whig victory, the *Log Cabin* was continued for some months as a family political paper. On April 10, 1841, *The New York Tribune*, a Whig daily paper, was started by Greeley, now thirty years of age. He was highly esteemed as a forcible and instructive writer on a wide variety of topics, yet he was not successful in a pecuniary way. One after another seven persons withdrew from partnership with him, believing that his work, however valuable, was not lucrative. Greeley was strictly temperate, and adopted for a time vegetarianism, as advocated by Dr. Sylvester Graham. He had married, in 1836, Mary Young Cheney, a writer who shared many of his peculiar views.

The Tribune was from the start an earnest advocate of a protective tariff, and of generous appropriations for internal improvements. It was liberal and humanitarian, and opened its columns to all who professed to promote human welfare or extend human knowledge. In its columns the schemes of

Fourier for co-operative labor and communistic society were presented by Brisbane and others. The abolition of capital punishment was urged upon the State governments. The cause of temperance was promoted and the repression of the liquor traffic was urged. But Greeley held that in thickly populated States local option would be more effectual than prohibition. He was conservative in regard to the family, vigorously opposing free love and easy divorce. In the discussion on this subject his opponent was Robert Dale Owen. Greeley strictly observed the Sabbath as a day of rest, and never issued a paper on the first day of the week. In early years he would not admit advertisements of theatres in the *Tribune*. This course made his paper highly acceptable to the religious public, especially in rural districts. For them *The New York Weekly Tribune* was issued and became a powerful political force throughout the North until after the close of the Civil War.

In the management of the *Tribune* Greeley gathered a staff of able assistants, the earliest being Henry J. Raymond, who afterwards founded the rival *New York Times*. When the Brook Farm Association failed, its leader, George Ripley, became the literary editor of the *Tribune*. From the same source came George William Curtis and Margaret Fuller. Bayard Taylor, William H. Fry and Albert Brisbane were also members of the staff. Brisbane was an advocate of the communistic schemes of Fourier, and the *Tribune* gave them editorial countenance for some years. In 1846 Raymond left the *Tribune*, and in another paper attacked Fourierism, thereby first attracting public attention to his own ability. In 1848 the Fox sisters at Rochester began their exhibitions of spirit-rappings. Mrs. Greeley invited them to her house, and her husband investigated the subject of spiritualism without coming to any decided conclusion. Yet he allowed its advocates to use his paper freely, though he thereby offended a large class of readers.

In 1848 Greeley was elected to Congress to fill a vacancy for a few months. Finding that many Congressmen charged excessive mileage he published a list of the accounts. This action and his daily comments on the proceedings provoked

indignant remonstrance. But a reform in the reckoning of mileage was effected. Greeley introduced the first bill giving homesteads free to actual settlers on public lands, but the measure was not passed at that time.

As the question of slavery became more prominent in national affairs, it received more attention in the *Tribune*. Originally Greeley had supported the American Colonization Society in its efforts for the removal of emancipated negroes to Liberia. In 1846–8 he opposed the Mexican war on the ground that it was intended to enlarge the domain of slavery. Thenceforth the *Tribune* vehemently attacked the extension of slavery. Greeley urged the combination of the constitutional anti-slavery men and suggested the name of the Republican party. The *Tribune* became its leading organ, though Greeley always held himself at liberty to censure or oppose any action of the party that he did not fully approve. During the existence of the Whig party Greeley had been closely associated with William H. Seward and Thurlow Weed, but in November, 1854, he wrote a frank letter, announcing the dissolution of "the political firm of Seward, Weed and Greeley by the withdrawal of the junior partner." The ground was unfair treatment by his seniors, yet the letter was not altogether unfriendly. Greeley assisted in the formation of the Republican party and suggested its name. During the Kansas-Nebraska troubles in 1857 the *Tribune* vigorously supported the immigration which made Kansas a free State. In the South the *Tribune* was regarded as an incendiary document, postmasters refused to deliver it, and subscribers were warned to cease taking it. Greeley was indicted for it in Virginia and was assaulted by a Congressman in Washington. But throughout the North its power waxed stronger until the close of the Civil War.

In 1860 William H. Seward was the leading candidate for the Republican nomination for President, but Greeley opposed him. Obtaining admission to the convention as a delegate from Oregon, he assisted in procuring Lincoln's nomination. When secession became ominous after the election of President Lincoln, the *Tribune* was not disposed to resist the movement by force. Its comment was "Wayward sisters, go in

peace!" But when war was declared, Greeley was vehement for its vigorous prosecution, crying, "On to Richmond!" Then followed a clamor for immediate emancipation and arming the negroes. So urgent was the case that President Lincoln in July, 1862, wrote a letter to Greeley explaining that it was his purpose to save the Union, and for this end to use whatever means should be most effectual. In September the preliminary announcement of the Emancipation Proclamation was made. In 1864 Greeley called attention to some motions by Confederates for peace, but these were without authority. When the war was over he urged universal amnesty and impartial suffrage. To testify his position, he went to Richmond to sign the bail bond of Jefferson Davis. This action cost him the loss of many of his old-time followers. Members of the Union League Club sought to expel him from membership, but his sharp, defiant letter prevented the act being consummated. But in other ways he suffered severely. He had prepared a history of the war under the name "The American Conflict." The first volume had had an unprecedented sale; but the second, which now came out, was refused by thousands of subscribers.

The severe course toward the South adopted by Congress under the direction of Stevens and Sumner was not approved by Greeley, who thought that it would be enough to give the freedmen the ballot, and to trust to the generosity of the repentant whites. Though he supported General Grant for the presidency, he disapproved of many acts of his administration and of the "carpet-bag" governments in the Southern States. The opposition to Grant led to a Liberal Republican movement in 1872. A convention was called at Cincinnati, and Greeley was nominated for the Presidency on the sixth ballot. The nomination was favorably received among the people, and the Democrats formally accepted it. For a time the tide seemed to run his way, but afterwards it fell off. His supporters called upon him to make a personal canvass. He went as far west as Indiana, and his speeches evoked great enthusiasm. But the contest was fierce and the personal attacks on him were bitter. Before the canvass closed, his wife died after a painful illness. In November, Grant received

3,597,070 votes, and Greeley 2,834,079. Before the electoral colleges met, Greeley, who had been suffering from insomnia, died on November 29, 1872, of inflammation of the brain. President Grant, Chief Justice Chase and other prominent men attended his funeral. Public men of both parties joined in testifying their regard for the great editor and publicist. From the time of his nomination he had relinquished the care of the *Tribune* to Whitelaw Reid, who had been his assistant, and who afterwards conducted the paper "founded by Horace Greeley."

The most noteworthy traits of Horace Greeley's character were his perfect honesty and fearless independence. Though ever dependent for his livelihood on popular support of his newspaper, he never refrained from stating clearly and promptly his views on questions of public interest. He never sacrificed his manliness to become a mere partisan, but he used cogent reasoning and every fair means of persuasion to bring others to approve his views and put them in practice for the welfare of the whole people. The doctrines and policy which the Republican party was formed to promote had been advocated in the *New York Tribune* years before that party came into being. When slavery had been abolished by the Civil War, and new and important questions arose, Greeley, who had been identified with it in its greatest struggle, felt himself entirely at liberty to urge measures and actions which his life-long associates disapproved. Before he was nominated for the Presidency he had fulfilled his noble mission, and he left to his countrymen an illustrious example of public-spirited virtue.

Jefferson Davis.

The President of the Southern Confederacy was chosen by a capable, resolute aristocracy with express reference to the arduous task directly before him. The choice was deliberate, and apparently wise. Mr. Davis was in the mature prime of life; his natural abilities were good; his training varied and thorough. He had been educated at West Point, which, with all its faults, I judge the best school yet established in our country; he had served in our little army in peace, and as a colonel of volunteers in the Mexican War; returning to civil life, he had been con-

spicuous in the politics of his State and the Nation; had been elected to the Senate, and there met in courteous but earnest encounter Henry Clay and his compeers; had been four years Secretary of War under President Pierce; and had, immediately on his retiring from that post, been returned to the Senate, whereof his admirers styled him "the Cicero," and whereof he continued a member until—not without manifest reluctance—he resigned and returned to Mississippi to cast his future fortunes into the seething caldron of Secession and Disunion. As compared with the homely country lawyer, Abraham Lincoln,—reared in poverty and obscurity, with none other than a common-school education, and precious little of that; whose familiarity with public affairs was confined to three sessions of the Illinois Legislature and a single term in the House of Representatives;—it would seem that the advantage of chieftains was largely on the side of the Confederacy.

The contrast between them was striking, but imperfect; for each was thoroughly in earnest, thoroughly persuaded of the justice of the cause whereof he stood forth the foremost champion, and signally gifted with that quality which, in the successful, is termed tenacity, in the luckless, obstinacy. Mr. Lincoln was remarkably devoid of that magnetic quality which thrills the masses with enthusiasm, rendering them heedless of sacrifice and insensible to danger; Mr. Davis was nowise distinguished by its possession. As a preacher of a crusade, either of them had many superiors. But Mr. Davis carefully improved—as Mr. Lincoln did not—every opportunity to proclaim his own undoubting faith in the justice of his cause, and labored to diffuse that conviction as widely as possible. His successive messages and other manifestoes were well calculated to dispel the doubts and inflame the zeal of those who regarded him as their chief; while, apart from his first inaugural, and his brief speech at the Gettysburg celebration, November 19, 1863, Mr. Lincoln made little use of his many opportunities to demonstrate the justice and necessity of the war for the Union.

Mr. Davis, after the fortunes of his Confederacy waned, was loudly accused of favoritism in the allotment of military trusts. He is said to have distrusted and undervalued Joseph Johnston, which, if so, was a grave error; for Johnston proved himself an able and trustworthy commander, if not a great military genius,—never a blunderer, and never intoxicated by success nor paralyzed by disaster. His displacement in 1864 by Hood, as Commander-

in-Chief of the Army of Georgia, was proved a mistake; but it was more defensible than the appointment of Halleck as General-in-Chief of our armies, directly after his failure on the Tennessee. Bragg is named as first of Davis's pets; but Bragg seems to me to have proved himself a good soldier, and to have shown decided capacity at the battle of Stone River, though he was ultimately obliged to leave the field (and little else) to Rosecrans. Pemberton was accounted another of Davis's over-rated favorites; but Pemberton, being of Northern birth, was never fully trusted, nor fairly judged by his compatriots. On a full survey of the ground, I judge that Davis evinced respectable, not brilliant capacities, in his stormy and trying Presidential career; and that his qualifications for the post were equal to, while his faults were no greater than, Mr. Lincoln's.

This, however, was not the judgment of his compatriots, who extravagantly exaggerated his merits while their cause seemed to prosper, and as unjustly magnified his faults and short-comings from the moment wherein their star first visibly waned. They were ready to make him emperor in 1862; they regarded him as their evil genius in 1865. Having rushed into war in undoubting confidence that their success was inevitable, they were astounded at their defeat, and impelled to believe that their resources had been dissipated and their armies overwhelmed through mismanagement. They were like the idolater, who adores his god after a victory, but flogs him when smarting under defeat.

A baleful mischance saved Mr. Davis from the fate of a scapegoat. After even he had given up the Confederacy as lost, and realized that he was no longer a President, but a fugitive and outlaw, he was surprised and assailed, while making his way through Georgia to the Florida coast with intent to escape from the country, by two regiments of Union cavalry, and captured. I am confident that this would not have occurred had Mr. Lincoln survived,—certainly not, if our shrewd and kind-hearted President could have prevented it. But his murder had temporarily maddened the millions who loved and trusted him; and his successor, sharing and inflaming the popular frenzy, had put forth a proclamation charging Davis, among others, with conspiracy to procure that murder, and offering large rewards for their arrest as traitors and assassins. Captured in full view of that proclamation, he might have been forthwith tried by a drum-head court-martial, "organized to convict," found guilty, sentenced, and put to death.

This, however, was not done; but he was escorted to Savannah,

thence shipped to Fortress Monroe, and there closely imprisoned, with aggravations of harsh and (it seems) needless indignity. An indictment for treason was found against him; but he remained a military prisoner in close jail for nearly two years, before even a pretense was made of arraigning him for trial.

Meantime, public sentiment had become more rational and discriminating. Davis was still intensely and widely detested as the visible embodiment, the responsible head, of the rebellion; but no one now seriously urged that he be tried by court-martial and shot off-hand; nor was it certain that a respectable body of officers could be found to subserve such an end. To send him before a civil tribunal, and allow him a fair trial, was morally certain to result in a defeat of the prosecution, through disagreement of the jury or otherwise; for no opponent of the Republican party, whether North or South, would agree to find him guilty. And there was grave doubt whether he *could* be legally convicted, now that the charge of inciting Wilkes Booth's crime had been tacitly abandoned. Mr. Webster, in his first Bunker Hill oration, had only given clearer expression to the general American doctrine, that, after a revolt has levied a regular army, and fought therewith a pitched battle, its champions, even though utterly defeated, cannot be tried and convicted as traitors. This may be an extreme statement; but surely a rebellion which has for years maintained great armies, levied taxes and conscriptions, negotiated loans, fought scores of sanguinary battles with alternate successes and reverses, and exchanged tens of thousands of prisoners of war, can hardly fail to have achieved thereby the position and the rights of a lawful belligerent. Just suppose the case (nowise improbable) of two commissioners for the exchange of prisoners,—like Mulford and Ould, for example,—who had for years been meeting to settle formalities, and exchange boat-loads of prisoners of war, until at length—the power represented by one of them having been utterly vanquished and broken down—that one is arrested by the victors as a traitor, and the other directed to prosecute him to conviction and consign him to execution,—how would the case be regarded by impartial observers in this latter half of the Nineteenth Century? And suppose this trial to take place two years after the discomfiture and breakdown aforesaid,—what then?

Mr. Andrew Johnson had seen fit to change his views and his friends since his unexpected accession to the Presidency, and had, from an intemperate denouncer of the beaten rebels as deserving

severe punishment, become their protector and patron. Jefferson Davis, in Fortress Monroe, under his proclamation aforesaid, was an ugly elephant on Johnson's hands; and thousands were anxious that he should remain there. Their view of the matter did not impress me as statesman-like, nor even sagacious.

The Federal Constitution expressly provides (Amendments, Art. VI.) that, "In all criminal prosecutions, the accused shall enjoy the right to a speedy and public trial, by an impartial jury of the State and district wherein the crime shall have been committed," etc.

In times of war and grave public peril, Constitutions cannot always be strictly heeded; but what national interest required that this provision should be persistently, ostentatiously defied?

An Irishman, swearing the peace against his three sons for pertinaciously assaulting and abusing him, made this proper reservation: "And your deponent would ask your honor to deal tenderly with his youngest son, Larry, who never struck him when he was down." I confess to some fellow-feeling with Larry.

Mr. George Shea, the attorney of record for the defence in the case of The United States *versus* Jefferson Davis, indicted for treason, is the son of an old friend, and I have known and liked him from infancy. After it had become evident that his client had no immediate prospect of trial, if any prospect at all, Mr. Shea became anxious that said client be liberated on bail. Consulting me as to the feasibility of procuring some names to be proffered as bondsmen of persons who had conspicuously opposed the Rebellion and all the grave errors which incited it, I suggested two eminent Unionists, who, I presumed, would cheerfully consent to stand as security that the accused would not run away to avoid the trial he had long but unsuccessfully invoked. I added, after reflection, "If *my* name should be found necessary, you may use that." He thanked me, and said he would proffer it only in case the others abundantly at his command should not answer without it. Months passed before I was apprised by a telegram from Washington, that my name *was* needed; when I went down and proffered it. And when, at length, the prisoner was brought before the United States District Court at Richmond, May 13, 1867, I was there by invitation, and signed the bond in due form.

I suppose this would have excited some hubbub at any rate; but the actual tumult was gravely aggravated by gross misstatements. It was widely asserted that the object of giving bail was

to screen the accused from trial,—in other words, to enable him to run away,—when nothing like this was ever imagined by those concerned. The prisoner, through his counsel, had assiduously sought a trial, while the prosecution was not ready, because (as Judge Underwood was obliged to testify before a Committee of Congress) no conviction was possible, except by packing a jury. The words "straw bail" were used in this connection; when one of the sureties is worth several millions of dollars, and the poorest of them is abundantly good for the sum of $5,000, in which he is "held and firmly bound" to produce the body of Jefferson Davis whenever the plaintiff shall be ready to try him. If he only *would* run away, I know that very many people would be much obliged to him; but he won't.

It was telegraphed all over the North that I had a very affectionate meeting and greeting with the prisoner when he had been bailed; when in fact I had never before spoken or written to him any message whatever, and did not know him, even by sight, when he entered the court-room. After the bond was signed, one of his counsel asked me if I had any objection to being introduced to Mr. Davis, and I replied that I had none; whereupon we were introduced, and simply greeted each other. I made, at the request of a friend, a brief call on his wife that evening, as they were leaving for Canada; and there our intercourse ended, probably forever.

When the impeachment of President Johnson was fully resolved on, and there was for some weeks a fair prospect that Mr. Wade would soon be President, with a Cabinet of like radical faith, I suggested to some of the prospective President's next friends that I had Jefferson Davis still on my hands, and that, if he were considered a handy thing to have in the house, I might turn him over to the new Administration for trial at an hour's notice. The suggestion evoked no enthusiasm, and I was not encouraged to press it.—HORACE GREELEY.

CONFUCIUS.

BETTER fifty years of Europe than a cycle of Cathay," sang Tennyson. Better the intellectual ferment and divine discontent of the Christian West than the mental and moral stagnation of the agnostic empire of the Far East. China by the antiquity and stability of its power and institutions has been the wonder of the modern civilized world. These are plainly due to the inherent character of the race, enforced by the example and instructions of its great sage, Confucius. No legislator or teacher of wisdom has had more lasting effect upon his people than this pre-Christian practical philosopher.

Confucius is the Latinized form of the name Kung-fu-tze, meaning Reverend Master Kung. This illustrious teacher was born in 551 B. C. in the kingdom of Lu, now included in the province of Shan-tung. His father, Shuh Liang-Hei, was a valiant warrior of illustrious descent. By a first wife he had had nine daughters and a crippled son. In his old age he married a young lady who prayed to Heaven that she might be blessed with a son. Before the birth of her child there are said to have been divine portents. A precious stone was left in the father's garden, bearing the inscription, "A child is to be born, pure as the crystal wave; he shall be a king without any land." The child had a curious prominence on his forehead, so that the mother called him Kew, "little hill." The father died when Confucius was but three years old, leaving the family in straitened circumstances. The care

and instruction of the child devolved on his mother, to whom he ever paid most respectful obedience. In boyhood he was noted for his carefulness in performing all ceremonies. His favorite play was to go through the forms of politeness prescribed by ancient rules. At school he was distinguished by obedience, modesty and quickness of intellect. At the age of nineteen he was married, and soon afterwards was made a mandarin. His first official duty was to superintend the public market, afterwards he had charge of the public lands. Through his sagacity great improvements were made in agriculture, by which abundant crops were produced and the tillers of the soil rewarded with plenty.

But the desire of Confucius was to be a teacher, and many youths were ready to be taught by the capable man. Whatever fees they could afford to give were acceptable, but the master insisted on their having a desire to learn and capacity to profit by his instruction. "When I have presented one corner of a subject," said he, "and the pupil cannot go on to learn the other three, I do not repeat the lesson." But when Confucius was twenty-four years old, his course was interrupted by the death of his mother. Having caused the proper ceremonies to be performed, he buried her with his father, declaring that "those who had been united in life should not be parted after death." He then spent the prescribed term of mourning, thrice nine months, before resuming any public duty. Filial reverence and worship of ancestors are the fundamental principles of Chinese morality. During his retirement Confucius devoted himself to a careful study of the ancient writings and was impressed with the duty of restoring the doctrine of the sages. Yet not till he had passed his thirtieth year did he stand firm in his convictions on all subjects of practical wisdom. In 517 B. C. two noble youths joined his band of disciples, and he was enabled to visit the capital of the kingdom of Chow and examine the treasures of the royal library. The kingdom then was about one-sixth of the present empire, and did not extend south of the Hoang-ho river. It was divided into thirteen states usually called kingdoms. They were feudal governments, and each ruler was often in great measure independent of the central authority.

On his return to Lu, Confucius found that State in disorder. The marquis had been defeated in a struggle with the inferior nobles and fled to the neighboring State of Tsi. Confucius refused to countenance the rebels and went to Tsi, accompanied by many disciples. On his way he observed a woman weeping in a lonely place, and sent one of his followers to inquire the cause. She replied, "My husband's father was killed here by a tiger; my husband was also killed, and now my son has met the same fate." Being asked why she did not leave so fatal a spot, she replied that here the government was not oppressive. Confucius therefore said to his disciples, "Remember this, oppressive government is fiercer and more dreaded than a tiger." The Marquis of Tsi was embarrassed to know how to treat Confucius, who was not a man of rank, and yet offered excellent counsel. When a considerable revenue was proposed, he refused to accept it unless his counsels were followed. Finding no suitable place he went back to Lu and for fifteen years remained in private life, teaching his disciples.

In his fifty-second year Confucius was made chief magistrate of the city of Chung-Tu. It is related that his exact administration effected a marvellous reformation in the people. Then the marquis, brother of the one who had fled to Tsi, made him minister of justice. Two of his disciples were also placed in influential positions. Nobles who had abused their power were punished. Some of them had maintained themselves in strongly fortified cities. Confucius sought to dismantle these and to render the Marquis of Lu supreme in his dominions. But the Marquis of Tsi saw that this course would exalt that ruler above himself. To counteract the influence of Confucius he sent to Lu a company of beautiful women, trained in music and dancing, and a troop of fine horses. The weak prince yielded to the pursuit of pleasure, and Confucius, being neglected, left his native State. In vain did he linger for a message of recall before he crossed the border.

The next thirteen years were spent by Confucius in traveling from State to State. Sometimes he was received kindly by the rulers, but none were found who would accept altogether his instructions. When exposed to peril or in danger

of perishing from want, Confucius maintained his equanimity, while his disciples were sorely shaken in their faith. In some places recluses were found who had retired from the world on account of the prevalence of wickedness. But Confucius, when asked in regard to their practice, said, "It is impossible to withdraw from the company of men, and associate with birds and beasts, that have no affinity with us. The disorder which prevails among men requires my efforts. If right principles ruled throughout the kingdom, there would be no necessity for me to change its state." Yet the sage could not find a ruler who would accept his guidance.

In his sixty-ninth year Confucius returned to Lu. The marquis, whose neglect had driven the sage away, had been succeeded by his son. A disciple of Confucius had been successful in a military expedition, and now recommended the philosopher as a proper counsellor. But Confucius would not take office again. His remaining years were devoted to instruction of his disciples and completion of literary tasks. His son died as his wife had died many years before, but the death of his favorite disciple, Yen Hwei, in 481 B. C., excited more grief. Then he exclaimed that Heaven was destroying him. Three years later his next beloved disciple, Tze-lu, died. One day, just after he had risen, Confucius was heard reciting a verse,

> "The great mountain must crumble,
> The strong trees must fall,
> The wise man must wither as a plant."

When Tze-Kung, one of his disciples, asked an explanation, Confucius told him that a dream had presaged his death. Seven days later he expired, 478 B.C. His disciples buried him with great pomp, and mourned for him for nearly three years. Tze Kung continued mourning as much longer. The grave of Confucius is in a cemetery near the city of Kiuh-fow. The tomb is a lofty mound, with a marble statue, bearing the inscription, "The most wise ancient Teacher; the all-accomplished, all-informed Kung." Nearby are the graves of his son and grandson. On the mound grow cypresses, acacias, the "crystal tree" and a plant formerly used for divination.

The enclosure contains many tablets erected by emperors of different dynasties in honor of the great philosopher.

More than two centuries after his death, the feudal system, which had hitherto prevailed, was overthrown by the Emperor Tsin. Finding the followers of Confucius an obstruction to his efforts, he entered on a fierce persecution, burying alive the professed disciples, and ordering the destruction of the ancient books which Confucius had exerted himself to arrange and preserve. The dynasty of Tsin soon passed away, and the dynasty of Han sought to retrieve the loss by recovering the ancient books, and in every way doing honor to the memory of Confucius. Since that time each successive dynasty has vied in testifying its reverence for the moral instructor of the people, and all writers have extolled his example and precepts. The descendants of Confucius constitute a distinct class in Chinese society. They number many thousands, and in the city of Kiuh-fow four-fifths of the inhabitants bear his family surname, Kung.

Confucius spent much time in transcribing, abridging and lecturing on the national histories and poems. The most ancient of these, the "Yih King" or Book of Changes, consists of sixty-four variations of straight and broken lines. These are now believed to have been syllabaries brought from Western Asia. But early Chinese writers gave them a mystical explanation, which Confucius accepted. Others used the combinations for divination. The only extended writing of Confucius is called "Spring and Autumn." It is hardly more than a chronological table of the history of Lu from 722 to 481 B.C. But upon examination it appears that the historian took the strange liberty of making the events accord with his own notions of right. The Chinese commentators, while lauding the work in the highest terms, restate the facts with striking differences. In order to rectify evil dispositions among its readers the historian had suppressed the unpleasant truth and substituted spceious falsehoods. Yet this untrustworthy compilation has been assigned a place among the "Five Classics" of the Chinese.

Confucius left no writings detailing the principles of his moral and social system. From his oral teaching his grand-

son Tze-sze wrote, "The Doctrine of the Mean," and his disciple, Tsang Sin, "The Great Learning." Other disciples compiled, in a disorderly way, his discourses and dialogues in the "Analects." Of later writers, who treat of his opinions, the most noted is Mencius, who was born in 371 B.C., and died in 288, being thus contemporary with Aristotle and Demosthenes. Mencius, while professing profound respect for Confucius, amplified his doctrine, acting thus somewhat as Plato did towards Socrates.

Confucius never claimed to have a divine revelation. Though he was scrupulous in performing the ritual ceremonies, it was out of respect for antiquity rather than belief in communion with God. For the older words denoting the Supreme Being or Almighty Ruler he substituted the impersonal term Heaven. Though he said, "I have long prayed," he did not command or even recommend prayer. Men were advised to study themselves. In the "Analects" it is said that there are four subjects of which Confucius seldom spoke—extraordinary things, feats of strength, rebellion and spiritual beings. He did not attempt to explain the custom of sacrificing to the spirits of the departed. To an inquirer he said, "While you do not know life, what can you know about death?" But while Confucius avoided dogmatizing about spiritual existence, he had a strong belief in human nature, as fitting man to live in society, and to this his thoughts were chiefly directed. Good and evil would be recompensed by their effects either on the actor or on his descendants. His teaching was purely ethical. He emphasized the power of example, and urged upon all in authority the duty of benevolence. A bad man is unfit to rule, and will therefore lose the power of ruling. But a virtuous ruler will secure virtue among his subjects. The ideal at which he aimed he called "the superior man." He considered all men as having moral sense, and that compliance with its indications is the rule of life. The duty of a ruler is to enable his subjects to pursue this course tranquilly. The following are some of his sayings with regard to the superior man:

"The superior man is dignified, and does not wrangle; he is social, but not a partisan."

"What the superior man seeks is in himself; what the inferior man seeks is in others."

The loftiest of his utterances is his form of Golden Rule: "What you do not like when done to yourself do not do to others." Though negative in form it was interpreted as positive in application. At the request of a disciple Confucius expressed it also by a single word or symbol (*shu*) meaning literally, "as heart." This is imperfectly translated by the English word "reciprocity;" it denotes full sympathy with the feelings and desires of others.

The character of the Chinese people is largely formed by their study of the sayings of Confucius, whether genuine or apocryphal. The learned classes can repeat every sentence of the classical books; the masses of the people delight in recalling the Confucian maxims. All practice the ceremonies which he constantly performed and enjoined. This blind adherence to antiquity is both the strength and weakness of Chinese character.

IGNATIUS LOYOLA.

THE sixteenth century was an age of religious warfare. Mohammedanism began to be forced back from its conquests in Europe. Moors and Turks gave way before the swords of Spaniards, Hungarians and Poles; Judaism was buried in the prison cells or burned out by the fires of the Inquisition. The Protestant Reformation advanced in triumph from the North to attack Catholicism in its strongholds. From Germany, Holland, England and France, the new doctrine was proclaimed and fundamental questions of religion were discussed. To stop this torrent which threatened to sweep Roman Catholicism from the face of the earth a strong barrier was needed. It was found in the religious order, called the Society of Jesus, and destined to become a potent influence in the history of the modern world.

Ignatius or Inïgo Loyola, the founder of the Society of Jesus, was born in 1491, at the castle of Loyola, in the province of Guipuscoa, Spain. He was the eleventh child of Beltran Jaquez and Mary Saëz, both representatives of the Biscayan nobility. When scarcely fourteen years of age Ignatius was sent to the court of Ferdinand V., King of Spain, who attached him to his personal retinue in the capacity of page. He followed his sovereign in the wars against Portugal, France, and the Saracens, and was everywhere distinguished by his knightly bearing, chivalric courage and gallantry, both in the service of Mars and under the banner of Venus. In 1521, while engaged in the defence of Pampeluna, then besieged by the French, he was so badly wounded by the bursting of a

bomb that he remained a cripple for life. This misfortune cut short his career of love and war; and during a long and tedious period of sickness and convalescence, the reading of some pious books fired his imagination with religious fervor.

Henceforward Loyola declared himself a Knight of the Holy Virgin. He is said to have had numerous visions, in one of which Christ and Satan appeared to him, contending for the supremacy of the world, enrolling souls, and arraying them in hostile armies, between which the great struggle of light against darkness was to be decided for all eternity. In this dread conflict, Ignatius saw himself enlisted under the banner of the cross; and from this time forward believed himself divinely called to a mission the success of which would redound to the glory of God and the happiness of men, through the holy Catholic Church. As the first step in his great mission he resolved on a pilgrimage to Jerusalem. He set out on his journey to Barcelona, but on his way turned aside to the church of the Benedictines at Montserrat, in Catalonia. Here he made a full confession of the sins of his past life, the recital of which occupied him for three days, and then revealed to his confessor the purpose of his soul as to his future course. In observance of the custom of entering knighthood Ignatius took his sword and dagger to the church and spent the whole night in front of the altar, imploring forgiveness and supplicating the favor of the Blessed Virgin. On account of the plague raging in Barcelona he turned aside to the town of Manresa. While living in a cell in the convent of the Dominicans, he scourged himself with the lash, prayed unceasingly, and fasted three and four days at a time, until severely rebuked by his confessor for this excess of asceticism. But later he subdued the desire for seclusion and solitude, and began to regard himself as the servant of others, and a guide of souls. Although he had not paraded the austerities he had practiced, the people soon began to know that a saintly member of a noble house was among them, and crowded around him. Thus he was led to active and incessant labor, and was never deterred from ministering to the lowest and most degraded.

After a year's stay at Manresa Loyola directed his steps to

Barcelona, set sail for the Holy Land, and arrived at Jerusalem September 4, 1523. The soldier pilgrim's projects were coldly regarded by the Franciscans to whom he first addressed himself. He wisely changed his plans. He doffed his pilgrim's garb, returned to Barcelona and commenced a course of elementary education; then proceeded to Alcala for the study of philosophy, and afterwards to Salamanca. At both places he was imprisoned; at Alcala by the officers of the Inquisition, at Salamanca by the vicar of St. Stephen's monastery, his offence in each case being the too-zealous preaching to the people.

Weary with the opposition with which he met from the ecclesiastics in his native land, Loyola quitted Spain for France, arriving at Paris in February, 1528. He resumed his study of Latin and philosophy, and commenced a course of theology with the Dominicans.

The spirit of the age was by no means favorable to religious associations. But Loyola persisted in carrying his project into execution. First Le Fevre, a poor Savoyard priest, was gained over; then Francis Xavier, a professor of philosophy in the college of Beauvais; and by degrees Lainez, Salmeron, Bobadilla, all more or less distinguished students. On the day of the Assumption, August 15, 1534, Ignatius and his associates betook themselves to the convent of Montmartre. Le Fevre celebrated Mass in an underground chapel, after which the members bound themselves by solemn oath to consecrate their lives to the service of religion, to make a pilgrimage to Jerusalem, and to labor for the conversion of the infidels. Venice was appointed as the rendezvous for 1536. All were punctual in their attendance, and their number was increased by three new members. Ignatius determined to put himself at the discretion of the Pope, and sent forward Francis Xavier to obtain favor at the papal court. The rest of his companions were dispatched to various universities. In 1538 Ignatius appeared at Rome and submitted the basis of his scheme to Pope Paul III., but through the opposition of Cardinal Guidiccioni it was decided that there was no necessity for creating a new order.

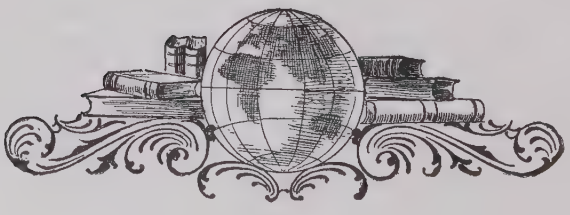
Finally Paul III., in face of the dangers which were threat-

ening the throne of St. Peter, felt that he ought not to decline the aid offered by those devout auxiliaries, and issued a bull sanctioning the establishment of the new institute under the title of the Society of Jesus, September 27, 1540. Ignatius was proclaimed General of the Society, with absolute power, from which there was no appeal. This new order was strictly monarchical, and thus better calculated to give effective support to the Roman See. When the ecclesiastical existence of the Society was thus sanctioned, Loyola began his administration by establishing exact order and method in the management of the conventual house, which was henceforward to be the centre of the society's operations. The general himself set an example of humility and obedience by performing the most menial duties and endeavored to lead the others to the practice of the doctrines they professed. In his estimation perfect charity was indifferent to humiliation of whatever kind and antagonistic only to pride, selfishness and impatience. Above all stood the virtue of absolute submissiveness.

In the meantime multitudes crowded to Loyola for spiritual guidance. When he preached his manner was earnest and impressive, and notwithstanding his foreign accent and his deficiencies as an orator, men of all classes, even dignitaries of the church, were brought to repentance and the confession of their sins. The society owes its success to the devout earnestness of its members in all their work, whether secular or sacred. They not only fulfilled their engagements, but went beyond them; they were trustworthy and gave advice with caution and prudence. They saw the need of education and applied themselves with diligence and self-sacrifice to this important work. The eminence they soon acquired in every department of learning, the patient and persistent method of teaching both children and adults and the readiness with which they learned to adapt themselves to the circumstances of peasant or prince gave them an entrance into, and ultimately a vast influence over, society. In fact their whole system showed a most remarkable knowledge of the human heart and the religious instincts and impulses of men. Before Loyola's death the society had over one thousand members

and centres of influence in twelve provinces of Italy. The first settlements outside of Italy were established in Spain and Portugal, and flourished rapidly. In France the progress was slower and much impeded by the opposition of the university authorities who considered the free teaching of the Jesuits an infringement on their privileges. In Germany the new order was favorably received, and not only were Jesuit colleges quickly founded, but members of the society were appointed to important professorships in other German colleges and universities. Before the death of the founder, the German connection counted twenty-six colleges and ten centres of operation.

Loyola, after having firmly established his order, died in 1556. He was beatified by Paul V. in 1607 and canonized by Gregory XV. in 1622. His principal works are the "Spiritual Exercises" and the "Constitutions." The experience of more than three centuries has proved that these works are skillfully adapted to produce the effect intended, the former in moulding the will of the individual member, the latter in regulating the action of the Society.



DATE DUE

DEMCO, INC. 38-2931

GREENVILLE COLLEGE LIBRARY
R.921L61 C001 V011
SPOFFORD, AINSWORTH RAND, 1
THE LIBRARY OF HISTORIC CHARACTERS REF
3 4511 00102 9251
RD
921 L61 v.11
Spofford, Ainsworth Rand,
1825-1908,
The library of historic
characters and famous